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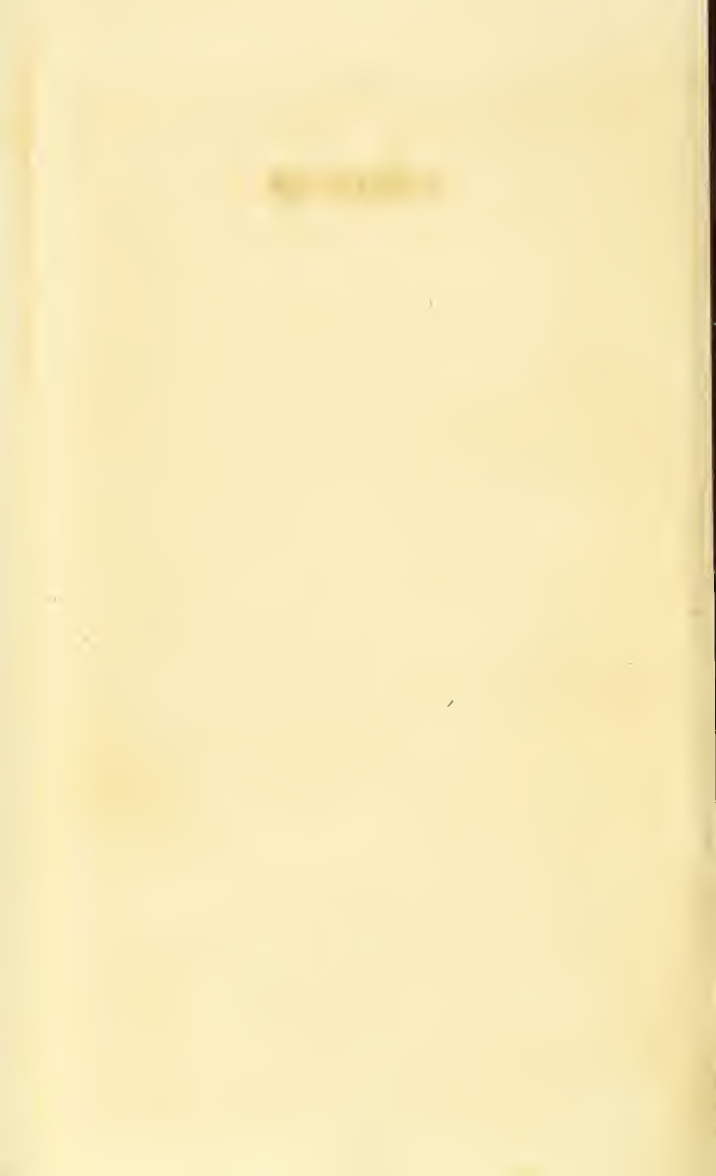
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WILMOT



HISTORY
OF THE
CAPE COLONY,
FOR USE IN SCHOOLS.

BY
A. WILMOT.

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THE HISTORY OF THE CAPE COLONY.

CHAPTER I.

Legends about early discovery. Portuguese expeditions to India *via* the Cape. Diaz. Da Gama. The Dutch determine to found a settlement. Visits of navigators. "Remonstrance" of the wrecked crew of the *Haarlem*. Van Riebeeck sent out with three ships to found a settlement. Arrival at the Cape.

THE ancient geographer, Strabo, informs us that between the years 170 and 117 B.C., the Phœnicians sailed round Africa, so as to reach Europe by the Straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean. This is a mere legend, which may not be true. It appears that in the ninth century of the Christian era the Arabs were acquainted with the African coast so far south as Delagoa Bay; but there is no proof that they ever reached the Cape of Good Hope.

Bartholomew Diaz, a Portuguese navigator of noble birth, commanded the first European expedition which doubled the Cape. The Portuguese were very

desirous of finding a passage by sea to the East Indies, in order to secure the rich trade with these regions, which was principally in the hands of the Italian republics. The overland route was then so dangerous and expensive that, if ships were able to trade with India *viâ* the Cape, it was clear that nearly the entire commerce carried on between Europe and the East would be brought into this channel. Numerous expeditions were sent out at various times; and, at last, a Portuguese captain, named Diego Cam, reached so far as 22° south latitude, in the year 1484. In 1486, three vessels, which were sent out by John II, King of Portugal, sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, and went as far as the mouth of the Great Fish River. On the 14th of September of that year they anchored in Algoa Bay, and Diaz landed, and planted a cross on the small Island of St. Croix, at the mouth of the Sunday's River. He encountered such severe storms, when rounding the Cape, that he styled it Cabo de los Tormentos, or Cape of Storms; but afterwards King John II changed the name to that of "Cape of Good Hôpe," because he thought its discovery proved that there was a clear passage by sea to the East Indies.

Emanuel, surnamed the Fortunate, the King of Portugal who succeeded John, dispatched an expedition of small vessels on the 8th July, 1497, under the command of Vasco da Gama, to carry to completion the voyage of discovery made by Diaz in the previous reign. Da Gama arrived at the Cape in November of the same year, sailed

successfully to India, and then established Portuguese power in the East. Many other captains called at the Cape from time to time, and in 1503 one of these, named Antonio de Saldanha, visited Table Bay, and gave it his own name. This harbour was called Saldanha Bay until 1601, when Spielberg transferred the title to the bay which still bears it. On the shores of Table Bay in the year 1510 Francisco d'Almeida, Count of Abrantes, the first Viceroy and Governor-General of the Portuguese East Indies, was killed in a conflict with the natives; and shortly afterwards Don Emanuel da Souza, who also had been in India, was shipwrecked upon the rocks at the Cape of Good Hope, and only escaped the perils of the sea to perish miserably on shore with his wife and child. The English East India Company was established in 1599, but even eight years previously, three British ships, named the *Penelope*, *Royal Merchant*, and *Edward Buonaventura*, had visited the Cape.

As the Dutch had tried in vain to discover a north-east passage from the European seas to China, they determined to gain a share in the Eastern trade by following the Portuguese round the Cape of Good Hope to India. A Dutch merchant named Cornelius Hautman, who had been imprisoned in Lisbon, diligently inquired into the subject of Indian commerce then jealously concealed, and when he imparted the information he had obtained to his countrymen, a squadron of four ships was dispatched from Holland under the command of Jan de Molenaar. This

expedition was so successful that companies were formed at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other towns, all of which soon afterwards joined in a partnership that obtained a charter on the 20th March, 1602, and became subsequently famous as the "Netherlands General East India Company." The Cape had now become a place of call for the vessels of all nations. Ships belonging to the English East India Company, as well as those of Portugal and Holland, came for refreshments, and a primitive post office was established by letters being left under large stones, addressed to the commanders of ships which were expected to call. On the 3rd of July, 1620, two English captains, named Shillinge and Fitzherbert, took possession of the Cape in the name of King James I; but this act was a mere form, followed by no consequences.

The Dutch, however, were aware of the importance of forming a settlement at the Cape, and on the 19th of August, 1619, the Chamber of Seventeen declared that it was desirable to found a fort at the Cape of Good Hope, "for the assurance of the refreshment necessary to the navigation of India, and the preservation of the seafaring people, which is of much importance." A long time elapsed before they carried this determination into effect. In the meantime, more than one representation was made to Holland, pointing out the advantages that would result from the establishment of a settlement. The crew of a Dutch ship named the *Haarlem*, which was wrecked in Table Bay in the year 1648, had to await for five months the arrival of the outward-bound fleet

from Holland, and during this time they had opportunities of making observations, the result of which was made known to the Company by a "remonstrance" drawn up by two of their number, in which they urged the immediate formation of a fort and garden.

This document was referred to a surgeon named Van Riebeek, who had previously visited the Cape, and as his report was very favourable, and it seemed desirable to forestall other nations in such a purpose, an expedition of three ships, named the *Dromedary*, *Heron*, and *Good Hope*, was immediately fitted out. The supreme command was entrusted to Van Riebeek, who, with his family, embarked on board the first-named vessel on the 14th December, 1651. They all set sail on the 23rd of the same month, and, after a comparatively prosperous voyage, arrived in sight of South African land on the 5th of April, 1652. After having ascertained that there was no danger or opposition to be encountered, the entire expedition landed safely, and Commander Van Riebeek assumed the government of the embryo Colony upon the 9th of April, 1652, when he issued a proclamation as "Senior Merchant," taking formal possession of the country, and enacting various regulations, among which is one providing that "whoever ill-uses, beats, or pushes any of the natives, be he in the right or in the wrong, shall in their presence be punished with fifty lashes, that they may thus see that such is against our will, and that we are disposed to correspond with them in all kindness and friendship, in accordance with the orders and the object of our employers."

CHAPTER II.

Object of the settlement. First proceedings. Struggles of the infant settlement. Van Riebeeck begs to be recalled. War with the natives. Purchase of land from Hottentots. Van Riebeeck ordered to Batavia. Review of his rule. His character.

THE first proclamation issued by Commander Van Riebeeck, as well as the general tenor of all his orders and regulations, clearly indicate that the object of the Dutch East India Company in forming a settlement at the Cape, was merely to secure a place for the refreshment of the outward and homeward-bound fleets. They had no desire to ill-use or quarrel with the natives, neither was there any disposition to despoil them of land or cattle. It certainly was necessary to acquire enough of the former to grow ample supplies of vegetables, and the lowest possible prices were given for cattle and sheep. But it would have been madness for a few settlers to attempt to trample on the rights of thousands of natives or to ill-treat them in any way, and such conduct would have been as much opposed to the orders of the Company as to the interests of the colonists. Industry and energy distinguished the first proceedings of the Government. Prospecting parties were sent out, the erection of a fort was vigorously proceeded with, and barter with the natives successfully carried on.

During the month of May, 1652, two ships arrived from Holland with fifty emigrants and a chaplain for the settlement. It is, of course, unnecessary

to give details regarding the slow progress of the infant Colony. A journal, kept by the Commander, informs us of the many troubles and vicissitudes which had to be undergone. Barter with the natives, building, growing vegetables, and fishing were the chief occupations; and difficulties with the Hottentots, violent south-east gales of wind, and sickness were the principal obstacles to progress. Van Riebeeck's life at the Cape was by no means a happy one. Beset with difficulties and surrounded by constant dangers, he had not only to provide against attacks from the natives, but to keep the servants of the Company in order, and to guard against their thefts and insubordination. In one of his dispatches, he begs earnestly to be relieved from his government, and refers to a successor as a "deliverer." The object of the Company, however, had been attained,—gardens were formed, a fort built, cattle bought, and thus sufficient supplies were secured for the refreshment of the fleets of the Dutch East India Company.

The Hottentots had frequently given trouble, but no quarrel of any consequence occurred until the year 1659, when, in consequence of their hostile attitude, it was resolved to arm and embody the colonists. A chief named Doman, with fifty or sixty of his people, made an attack upon the Company's cattle, and a force consisting of one hundred and fifty men—part of which was drafted from a ship in Table Bay—was marched against the enemy. Various skirmishes took place, in which the natives were so defeated as to make it evident to them that the contest had now

become hopeless. A prisoner of one of their tribes (Caepmans) being asked why his people injured the Dutch, answered "that it was because they saw that we were breaking up the best land and grass, where they were accustomed to graze, and trying to establish ourselves everywhere." The Governor-General in Batavia, writing to Van Riebeeck in 1659, remarks that the grievance was well founded, but that it was impossible to afford any satisfaction.

No purchase of land was made from the natives, but in 1672 Commissioner Van Overbeek was of opinion that, "for the prevention of much future cavilling," an agreement ought to be entered into, whereby the Hottentots should declare the Dutch to be the rightful and lawful possessors of the Cape district and its dependencies, in consideration of a specified sum of money. Such a contract was soon afterwards entered into with Captain Schacher as hereditary Sovereign (Erf Heer) of the lands. This Chief delivered over the whole district of the Cape of Good Hope, from Lion's Hill to Saldanha Bay, for 4,000 reals of eight, paid in merchandise, and the Dutch allowed him and his herds to come and go without hindrance near to the outermost farms of the district. A separate contract was shortly afterwards made concerning Hottentots' Holland, which was purchased from its owner or chief, who is styled in the Records "Prince Dhouw."

Commander Van Riebeeck was at length relieved from his duties, and in 1662 left Cape Town for Batavia, after having faithfully carried out the instructions of

his employers. His character has been both extravagantly praised and unjustly censured. He was an energetic and laborious man, who attended assiduously to the interests of his employers. He was neither cruel nor revengeful to the natives, simply because it was impolitic to be so, and his instructions imperatively ordered him to pursue a different course: he was at the same time of opinion that the most troublesome Hottentot tribes should be made slaves and sent out of the country, and he strongly recommended the seizure of all their cattle. He frequently fixed prices of articles at rates which even the Company considered excessive, and was easily persuaded to favour schemes for the discovery of gold regions and the prosecution of a slave-trade. Patience, forbearance, and perseverance are all distinguishable in his successful efforts to found a settlement; and the Dutch East India Company possessed in Van Riebeeck an indefatigable and faithful officer. During the period of his government, which lasted ten years—from 1652 to 1662—the settlement was firmly established, gardens laid out and planted, trade with the native tribes organized, and a fort built. This Commander issued no fewer than seventy-five placats or proclamations having the force of law. These were merely echoes of the instructions received from the Home Government, which constantly urged the encouragement of agriculture and the treatment of the natives with forbearance.

CHAPTER III.

Origin, history, language, and customs of the Hottentots and Bushmen. Van Wagenaar succeeds Van Riebeeck. Dissatisfaction of the Burghers. Van Quaelberg, Governor, superseded for civility to a French Admiral. Jacob Borg-horst. Algoa Bay visited. Possession taken of Saldanha Bay. Pieter Hackuis. Governor Goske. Building of the Castle. J. B. van Herentals. Great drought.

BEFORE proceeding further, it seems desirable to give some information relative to the origin, history, and language of the Hottentots. The Dutch found them divided into numerous tribes, each having a different name, and it is certain that the designation "Hottentot" is not of native origin. This term, it is conjectured, was conferred by the Dutch, in order to convey by the sounds *Hot en Tot* some idea of the peculiar click or manner of talking of the savages. There is reason to believe that the Bushmen are not a distinct race, but a branch or subdivision of the once extensive nation of Hottentots. It is certain that both migrated from a more northern part of the continent, and that their language bears affinity to the ancient Coptic—of Egypt. According to the evidence of travellers of last century, the Hottentots believed in a Supreme Being and in the immortality of the soul. They had no idea of future rewards or punishments, yet they nevertheless offered prayers to good Hottentots deceased; and their dread of the influence of spirits was so great that at the death of any one, the kraal in which he or she expired was immediately removed to another position. Perhaps

the most singular religious custom of these savages was their veneration of a particular kind of insect (Mantis), the appearance of which was supposed to be an omen of good luck.

In opposition to the practice of the Kafirs and other South African tribes, the use of bows and arrows has always markedly distinguished the Hottentots. It would seem that they were originally a powerful nation, divided into tribes, each of which was presided over by a chief. Their riches consisted in flocks and herds, with which they roved about, seeking pasture, and carrying with them, in their migrations, movable villages, each hut of which was composed of poles or boughs covered with rush mats. Their clothes consisted of sheep skins, and their weapons of bows and poisoned arrows. Bold and active in the chase, they were courageous in danger, although naturally possessing a gentler disposition than that of most savages. Their intelligence was considerable, and they were often employed by Europeans in affairs that required judgment and capacity. They were distinguished frequently for attachment and fidelity in service ; but were intensely fond of spirituous liquors—the immoderate use of which has exercised a very prejudicial effect upon the race.

The Bushmen were always proverbial for their troublesome character and universally outrageous conduct. The little intercourse which they had with each other, and the absence of almost every kind of property, rendered them strangers to the objects of laws, and therefore unconscious of the benefits

of a regular government. On this account they had no hereditary rulers, and the superiority of physical strength was the only one recognized. In war or the chase they unconsciously gave place in the former to the bravest and most dexterous, and in the latter to the most experienced and cunning. The absence of any system of laws rendered punishments unequal and very disproportionate. They often permitted the greatest injuries to be inflicted with impunity, and others of the most insignificant character to be visited with the most hideous vengeance. They appeared to look upon every stranger as an enemy, and only waiting a favourable opportunity to injure them. The dictates of their own hearts did not lead them to forgive injuries. They pertinaciously avoided communication with foreigners, and were exceedingly deceitful and treacherous.

The larvæ of ants and grasshoppers, locusts and roots served as food when no flesh meat was procurable, while great endurance under the sufferings of hunger was compensated for by brutal gluttony and intemperance when abundance was procurable. Their religion consisted of the meanest superstition. Their clothing was made of skins, and they possessed huts or holes for dwellings. Nevertheless, a certain advance had been made in the art of drawing, shown by the figures of men and animals still to be seen in some of the caverns which they inhabited; and there is no doubt that both the Hottentots and the Bushmen were in possession of a high class of language, evidently Coptic, and that they had

migrated from a more civilized and populous part of the continent. Such were the people with whom the Dutch came into contact. As we had already seen, no long time elapsed before hostilities took place, the natural result of which was that the natives were driven some distance from Cape Town.

Zacharias van Wagenaar succeeded Van Riebeeck as commander of the settlement in 1662, and soon became exceedingly dissatisfied with his government. He found the free burghers constantly grumbling, and was forced to punish several of them with extreme strictness. As Van Wagenaar could not be induced to remain by offers of an increase of salary, Cornelis van Quaelberg was sent out as his successor. But this Commander's term of office was very short, it having been reported to the Chamber of Seventeen in Holland that he had received a Frenchman of high rank with hospitality and civility. The greatest dissatisfaction was expressed that, independent of the kind reception given, Quaelberg should have quitted his post in the fort to welcome the Admiral, in direct opposition to military law, besides supplying him with all necessaries. Water was to be given to all Europeans, but as little refreshment as possible. The Company also found fault with the Commander for keeping too large a garrison and not charging more for provisions, ordered him at once to leave the Cape for Batavia, and appointed Jacob Borghorst his successor. This last-named officer reached Table Bay on the 16th of January, 1668.

Algoa Bay was first visited by the Dutch in 1669, and several expeditions were dispatched about this time,

both to the West and East Coast. In the year just named, orders were received to take possession of Saldanha Bay, in consequence of the French having erected a column there on which their arms were inscribed.

Pieter Hackius was appointed Commander in 1670, and was ordered to plant brushwood and trees for fuel. During this year the Dutch Eastern fleet had 4,000 men on board, and, at its departure, left 807 oxen and 6,182 sheep. Commander Hackius having died, was succeeded in 1672 by *Governor Goske*, whose chief duty was that of building a substantial fort in Cape Town. The erection of the Castle occupied several years, and serious doubts about the advisability of proceeding with it were for some time entertained. This new Royal Fortress, as it is styled in the Records, was a very expensive work, which was soon perceived to be almost useless, as it was commanded by the adjacent heights. It is built in a very low position close to the sea, and about sixty roods to the eastward of the old fort.

Johan or Joan Bax van Herentals succeeded Goske in 1676, and in this year the settlement was visited with so severe a drought that the crops partially failed, while the barrenness of the pasture in every quarter caused a great mortality among the Company's cattle, as well as among those of the freemen. The Directors of the East India Company were at this time particularly anxious for the advancement of agriculture at the Cape, and in one proclamation urge the farmers to energetic efforts, and emphatically remark "that the country is not worthy of being called a colony which cannot produce its own corn."

CHAPTER IV.

Hendrik Crudax. Statistics. Slave-trade. Laws. Administration of justice. Barter with the Natives. Effects of spirituous drink on Hottentots. Arrival of Commander Van der Stell. Stellenbosch founded. Emigrants sent out. Visit of Van der Stell to Namaqualand. Arrival of French vessels bearing Siamese Embassy. Capture of French vessels in Table Bay. Immigration of French Refugees under the auspices of the Dutch Government. Their discontent.

HENDRIK CRUDOP, or Crudax, the Second in Command, was nominated provisional Commander-in-Chief by Bax van Herentals shortly previous to that Governor's death, which event occurred in June, 1668. According to a statement compiled by the Government in the following year (1679), the Cape burghers consisted of 62 families,—comprising 83 free males, 55 women, 117 children, 30 Dutch servants, and 191 slaves of both sexes; in all, 476. Even in a favourable season, the crops were barely adequate for the annual consumption in the settlement, and large quantities of rice had to be imported. Traffic in slaves took place, and they were easily purchased from ships which called on their voyages from Madagascar and the Dutch East Indies. Placaats or proclamations having the force of law were continually issued by the Governors, and these became so numerous and confusing that when Commissioner Goske visited the Cape in 1671, he found it necessary to direct the formation of the "Positive Orders," a volume

containing an alphabetical digest of all the instructions issued since the foundation of the Colony. These placats were entirely based upon instructions from the Home Government, either issued in dispatches or expressed in memoranda from Commissioners, who were officers of high rank occasionally sent to superintend and report. The encouragement of agriculture, rigid economy in expenditure, and the treatment of the natives with forbearance, so as to avoid hostilities, were the principal subjects of the placats.

The administration of justice was one of the chief duties of the Commander; and the Court of Justice, of which he was the President, consisted of "the Merchant and Second in Command,"—who had also charge of the money chest, account books, and storehouse,—the Lieutenant, the Fiscal or Public Prosecutor, the Ensign, and the Junior Merchant. A record of decisions in criminal cases has been preserved, and although many of the sentences appear extremely severe, it must be remembered that they were in accordance with the spirit of the times, and inflicted among a community of a peculiar character. In carrying on barter with the natives, there had been frequent quarrels. In the year 1675 one of the Hottentot Chiefs named Gonnema, attacked a tribe in alliance with the Dutch. A desultory contest, which lasted until 1677, was concluded by the Hottentots binding themselves to pay a cattle fine. By degrees the territory of the natives was annexed, while they were compelled to retreat inland. The decay of their race can be traced to a very early date,

and may to a great extent be attributed to an excessive indulgence in brandy and tobacco, which soon became Hottentot gods, to which were sacrificed health, honour, and independence.

On the 12th October, 1679, the ship *Vrije Zee* arrived with the new Commander, Simon van der Stell, who almost immediately after his arrival took a short journey inland and founded the town of Stellenbosch. About the same time he caused the Government Gardens in Cape Town to be planted. Commissioner Van Rheeде tot Drakenstein having recommended that emigrants should be dispatched to the Cape, fifty farmers and mechanics, with a like number of young women, were sent out in 1684. A grant of sixty morgen of land was made in favour of these people, who were located in the country named Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. In 1685, the Commander travelled into Namaqualand, and there explored the Koperbergen, or Copper Mountains, but their distance from the sea-coast made the Government despair of being able to work the mines successfully. A treaty was entered into by Van der Stell with the Amaquas, providing that they should live in peace with the Cape Government and each other, and that if they broke the latter agreement, the Commander should have the right to interfere.

Several French vessels bearing the embassy from their country to Siam called at the Cape in 1681, and Father Tachard, who subsequently wrote an account of the expedition, states that they were extremely surprised to meet with great politeness. An equally

favourable reception having been given in 1688 to the second French expedition, which consisted of no fewer than six ships, the Government of the Dutch East India Company expressed extreme displeasure at the friendly feeling which had been manifested, and animadverted severely upon Commander Van der Stell's want of caution in admitting French officers to a knowledge of the defenceless state of the settlement. Shortly after this period, a war between the allied Powers of Britain and France against Holland was anticipated. William of Orange succeeded in dethroning James II of England, and as the French seized and pillaged Dutch ships, the Company sent out strict instructions for reprisals to be made at the Cape whenever possible. An opportunity soon occurred on the arrival of a French ship named *La Normande*, of 16 guns, bound home from Pondicherry with a cargo valued at 150,915 rupees. The captain, not suspecting that any attempt would be made to capture his ship, ordered a salute of nine guns to be fired, under the smoke of which a cutter and the boat of a Dutch man-of-war (*Saamslagh*) came alongside, without being discovered. A desperate fight ensued, in which a number of men were wounded, but the French had at last to cry for quarter, which was granted. Shortly afterwards—on the 9th of May, 1669—the French ship *Le Coche*, anchored in Table Bay, and those on board entertained no suspicion of hostile intentions until they noticed that their boat stayed away too long and that three Dutch ships-of-war were nearing them. Upon

this they began to shelter themselves with blankets and mattresses, to open the ports and point the guns, and to make every preparation for a gallant defence. After two broadsides, Monsieur d'Armagnan, their captain, with two soldiers were killed, and eight men wounded. After this the defence became hopeless, and *Le Coche* surrendered. Both of the captured French ships were plundered, in spite of the opposition of the Fiscal and Commissioners. Some of the prisoners were sent to Batavia, and the remainder to Europe.

The States-General of the Netherlands had received with hospitality the Huguenots expelled from France by Louis XIV; but finding that many of them could not obtain employment, and hearing that the Dutch East India Company had lately sought for emigrants from Holland, they proposed to the Directors to offer them a home at the Cape. A scheme of settlement was accordingly framed, but the number of men, women, and children sent out between the years 1685 and 1690 did not exceed three hundred. The Company feared that as hostilities with France were apprehended, it would be dangerous to harbour in the South African Colony a very large number of French subjects; and as the nature of the Government at the Cape was despotic, they feared that it would be difficult to keep the refugees under fitting subjection. Even the small number who did settle at the Cape soon became discontented, and entertained ideas of liberty by no means pleasing to Commander Van der Stell or to the Directors. Being comparatively few

in number, they were forced to submit, and eventually became absorbed in the Dutch and German population. Before this took place, however, serious disputes occurred at Stellenbosch with regard to their election of a Church vestry, and the civil disturbances under the rule of the younger Van der Stell, to which we shall shortly have to allude, were no doubt partly traceable to the disaffection existing among the French immigrants.

CHAPTER V.

Government policy. Natives. Slavery. Land. Abdication of Simon van der Stell ; succeeded by his son, Willem Adriaan van der Stell. Disturbances under his Government. Petitions of the discontented. His recall. Despotie system of rule under the Company. Statistics. Van Assenberg. Helot. Marquis de Chavonnes. Elementary education. Pict Gysbert van Noot. His alleged acts of tryanny. Conspiracy. Trial and execution of the ringleaders. Death of Van Noot.

AT this stage it seems desirable to refer to the policy of the Government with regard to natives, slavery, and the acquirement of land. In the first instance, the Hottentots were found to be so powerful that conciliatory measures, and the ostensibly fair means of obtaining land by purchase, had to be adopted. But the Dutch gained strength in proportion as the natives, enervated by European vices, and frequently defeated, became weaker and less able to resist. Land was soon annexed without form or pretext, as convenience dictated. For the greater part of the first century of occupation, the life of the black man was as sacred as that of the white, and the hunting down of Bushmen and other atrocities are to be referred to a much later period in colonial history. The Commanders in the Colony, as well as the Directors of the Company, were in favour of slavery ; and so far back as Van Riebeeck's time, a dispatch from the Chamber of Seventeen states that they believe slaves to be very necessary to private farmers,

and that without them they can scarcely maintain themselves. Slaves were introduced from Batavia, and some from Guinea. After the year 1684, there was not even a pretence of respecting native territorial rights. The land of Waveren, afterwards called Tulbagh, was added to the Colony, and the Government—or more frequently the colonists themselves—continued to take possession of the country to the north and east, until the wilderness and the Kafirs formed the real boundaries of the settlement.

Simon van der Stell abdicated in 1699, and retired to a farm near Stellenbosch, where he died thirteen years afterwards. His son, Willem Adriaan van der Stell, succeeded him as Governor, and soon experienced considerable difficulties from the discontent and exasperation of the colonists. Six years after his accession to office (in 1705) the free burghers of the Colony numbered 450, and their position was a very disagreeable one. They were prevented by the monopoly of the Company from engaging in mercantile pursuits, and they found that, in disobedience to orders from the Home Government, the Commander, with his relatives, carried on farming operations so extensively as to become serious competitors with them in the only pursuits by means of which they were able to earn a livelihood. Their complaints comprised serious charges against the Governor, the principal of which were that he carried on barter for cattle in an unjust manner, and so as to oppress the natives; caused burgher councillors to be assaulted; made an enormous profit, which went into his own

pocket, out of the wine sold to Company's ships ; forced the corn farmers to part with their grain at half its real value ; took bribes, and "lent his ear to vain babbling men and flatterers, being a coward before the truth " Two petitions were framed by the discontented ; one was sent to Batavia, and the complainants were awaiting an opportunity of forwarding the other to Holland, when Van der Stell received intelligence from Java that the former document had reached the Governor-General of India.

Secret inquiries were soon rewarded by information which seemed to prove that Adam Tas, a farmer of Stellenbosch, was the ringleader of the disaffected. His arrest was immediately made, and in his desk a copy of the petition or memorial was discovered. Tas and a few others were imprisoned, but those who avowed that they were misled received a free pardon. A proclamation warning the colonists against this conspiracy was published, and several malcontents were banished to Batavia, Mauritius, or Holland. Among those sent to Europe were a burgher councillor named Henning Husing, and four others of the most influential inhabitants. These men, as might have been foreseen, used their best endeavours to gain powerful friends, and soon succeeded in obtaining an order for the recall of the Governor and his principal officers. The dispatch in which the mandate was conveyed reached the Colony in April, 1707, and caused the immediate liberation of all the prisoners, some of whom had been in gaol more than thirteen months. Many of the complaints made against the Governor

were evidently exaggerated, and in a pamphlet called the “Deductie,” published by Van der Stell after his return to Holland, that officer endeavoured to vindicate his conduct, and stated that his strict adherence to the orders of the Home Government, in preventing illicit traffic and smuggling, was the cause of the ill-feeling exhibited towards him by a small but violent portion of the colonists. The authorities of the Company evidently did not believe half the allegations of Van der Stell’s enemies; and on the occasion of his recall, distinctly ordered that the Governor and other officers should be removed and sent home, *retaining their rank and pay*. It is difficult to charge Van der Stell with exceeding his powers, when we know that complete and arbitrary control over the colonists had been placed in his hands; and it is, therefore, the system—not the officers—which deserves serious blame. Although Van der Stell was removed, the Governor’s power remained undiminished. No Council could thwart, or even modify, his decisions, and the doctrine by which the East India Company instructed their officers to govern was, that no industry should be freely exercised, nor commercial privilege granted, lest their monopoly at the Cape should be destroyed.

Commander Van Assenberg succeeded to the Government of the Colony in 1707. The settlement then comprised the present divisions of the Cape, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Malmesbury, and part of Caledon and Tulbagh. The stock consisted of 130,000 sheep and 20,000 head of cattle, while the Europeans

and free burghers were certainly fewer than 2,000, and the slaves numbered rather more. Wheat, rye, barley, and vines were the chief productions of the soil, and tithes of all had to be paid to the Government, which also fixed the prices at which everything was to be sold. So strict were the trade regulations, that it was considered a great boon, only obtained after much exertion, when the owners of surplus stores, which the Company did not require, were permitted to sell them to foreign ships upon giving a *douceur* to the Fiscal. The duration of office of most of the Cape Governors was very brief. Governor Van Assenberg was succeeded by Willem Helot in the year 1711; and he, in turn, was followed in 1714 by Mauritz Pasquess, Marquis de Chavonnes, a French Huguenot. This nobleman, shortly after his arrival, ordered that the Statutes of India, collected towards the end of the preceding century, should form a code of laws for the Colony; he provided also for a rudimentary system of education. The events which occurred during the early period of Dutch rule at the Cape were principally of an insignificant character, and a mere catalogue of them would be neither interesting nor instructive.

Jan de la Fontaine acted as Commander from the completion of the Marquis de Chavonnes' term of office until the arrival in 1727 of his successor, Piet Gysbert van Noot. It has been asserted that this Governor was a tyrant, whose oppressive rule earned the hatred both of the military and the inhabitants, but the chief foundation for this statement is a narrative of events

under Van Noot's rule, taken from the biography of Mr. R. S. Allemann, formerly Captain of Militia and Commandant of the Castle. According to this authority, the Commander embezzled money which ought to have been paid to the soldiers, and caused their murmurs and complaints to be silenced with blows, behaved most tyrannically by withholding trade licences, and refused customary renewals of leases. A conspiracy among the military was the result. Thirty or forty soldiers agreed among themselves to obtain a supply of powder and lead ; to escape over the Castle wall by means of a rope ; and then to march along the coast until they reached some Portuguese or other settlement, whence they could proceed to Europe. The plot was ripening, when one of the conspirators discovered all to the Government. Eight ringleaders were apprehended, but one subsequently managed to escape. The seven others were condemned by the Senate of Justice each to run the gauntlet ten times, and then to be sent to Batavia as sailors. But this sentence did not please the Governor, who commanded that they should be hanged, and signed a warrant for their execution. The sentence was carried out with great formality in presence of the Senate of Justice. According to the biographer, the hangman was about to put the rope round the neck of the last of the prisoners, when he interrupted him by crying out in a loud voice, " Governor Van Noot, I summon you this very hour before the judgment seat of Omniscient God, there to give an account of the souls of myself and my companions !" This

writer proceeds to say that after the execution, the Senate returned to the large residence-hall, where they saw the Governor sitting motionless in his chair—dead. The corpse was buried privately, and pompous public funeral ceremonies afterwards took place. If this Commander were really guilty of the excessive cruelty and injustice laid to his charge, he was a monster in human form, whose memory merits execration.

CHAPTER VI.

Jan de la Fontaine—Adrian van Kervel—Hendrik Swellengrebel. Division and town of Swellendam established. Baron Imhoff visits Table Bay. Commodore Anson. Le Caille, the Astronomer. Statistics. Ryk van Tulbagh, Governor. Pracht en Praal regulations. Wreck of the *Doddington*. Prosecution of geographical discovery.

JAN DE LA FONTAINE was appointed Governor upon the death of Van Noot in 1720. Adrian van Kervel succeeded him in 1736, ruled the Colony for only two years, and was followed by Hendrik Swellengrebel, after whom the division and the village of Swellendam were named. All those who lived in Roodezand, and the whole of that tract of country that lies to the eastward, were subject to the jurisdiction of the Landdrost or Magistrate of Swellendam, while the other great territorial district was that of Stellenbosch, including such places as Camdeboo, Sneeuwberg, Bokkeveld, Roggeveld, and Anamaqua. Judge Watermeyer remarks: "It would be a mere waste of patience to narrate a change of functionaries from time to time, without a variation in the mode of administration, or in the actual position of the country. Varied names and unvaried complaints, though extending over a succession of years, revealing the same state of circumstances throughout, would afford but a dull and uninteresting lesson." Unfortunately, the chief historical features of the eighteenth century are discontent and disaffection on the part of Europeans,

tyranny of Government functionaries, and thieving incursions of the Bushmen, followed by severe reprisals. No immigration except that of the three hundred French Protestants, already referred to, took place—although, of course, individuals who had retired from the Company's service, including discharged soldiers and sailors, were, from time to time, permitted to settle. These, when admitted to burgherships, had to agree to a contract obliging them to submit to regulations framed for the purpose of securing a monopoly of trade to the Company. Trading operations were frequently carried on with the Hottentots in an unjust manner, and the natives were by degrees dispossessed of their pasture-land, and obliged to retreat inland. There the Bushmen so frequently robbed the farmers of their stock that reprisals were frequent, until, at last, what may be called a war of extermination was waged against them.

Baron Imhoff, twenty-seventh Governor-General of Dutch India, arrived at the Cape in 1742, and was received with unusual state and ceremony. In 1744, Commander Anson, in the *Centurion*, visited Table Bay; and Le Caille, the French astronomer, took up his residence in Cape Town in 1751, for the purpose of measuring an arc of the meridian. In that year, one of the most famous and popular of Cape rulers, Ryk van Tulbagh, who had been formerly a private soldier, was appointed Governor; and during the long term of twenty years during which he held office, appears to have given

unqualified satisfaction. Being a strict disciplinarian and an enemy to luxury, Tulbagh thought it his duty to oppose any departure from simplicity of life, and he consequently lost no time in adapting to the Cape the provisions of a law against ostentation, introduced by Governor-General Jacob Messel into the Indian possessions of the Netherlands. There were in the Colony at this period, nine thousand inhabitants of European extraction, and eight thousand slaves,—and the higher or privileged classes formed but a small proportion of the community. The Oppor Koopmannen, or Senior Merchants, comprised the Governor, Mynheer de Secunde as Vice-Governor, the Fiscal, and the Commandant of the Castle. The High Court of Policy, the Executive and Legislative Councils, as well as the Court of Justice, were formed by these four officers, assisted by the Secretary of the Council, the Purveyor-General, the Store-keeper, and the Winkelier, or Agent for selling Company's goods. The Junior Merchants were more numerous, comprising about thirty officers, among whom were the Secretary of the Court of Justice, Lieutenants in the Army, the Accountant, Assistant Fiscal, Members of the Municipal Council, and Commandants of Militia, the Clergyman, and the Landdrosts of Stellenbosch and Swellendam.

To give some idea of the nature of the “Praal en Praacht” regulations, or sumptuary laws, put in force by Governor Tulbagh, it is only necessary to refer to one or two of them. Article 4 provides that every person, without exception, shall stop his

carriage and get out of it when he shall see the Governor approach ; and shall likewise get out of the way, so as to allow a convenient passage to any of the members of the Court of Policy. As regards "large umbrellas," it is ordered by Article 6, "That no less in rank than a Junior Merchant, and those among the citizens of equal rank, and the wives and daughters of those only who are, or have been, members of any Council, shall venture to use umbrellas." No women holding any rank below the wives of Junior Merchants were permitted to wear silk dresses with silk braiding or embroidery, nor any diamonds nor mantelets. The Placaat further entered into minute details, not only as to the dress of various classes, but also directed how many servants might be kept, and the ceremonies that were to be observed at marriages and funerals. The laws of this period, and the manner in which they were carried out, caused no dissatisfaction, and the period of Tulbagh's rule was long considered the golden age at the Cape.

Having just glanced at the social position of the people, and at the manner in which the Courts of Law and the Councils of Government were constituted, it seems desirable to advert briefly to the financial state of the Colony, and to its sources of wealth. The revenue ranged from £14,000 to £17,000 per annum, and the expenditure reached the very disproportionate amount of £50,000 a year ; but this, of course, included the large outlay on the outward and homeward-bound Dutch fleets. All trade was in the hands of the Company,

whose sales of European manufactures averaged £8,000 per annum, at a time when the total value of imports was £16,000 annually. Rather more than 6,000 leaguers of wine were made, and 175,000 muids of wheat produced. The entire value of the crops of the Colony was estimated at £100,000 yearly. Taxes were mostly paid in kind, and consisted principally of tithes on produce. Stamps and transfer dues only realized £700, and land rents £800 per annum. Each ship that came to Table Bay had to pay £16 13s. 4d. as anchorage dues, and the average yearly number of arrivals was twelve. At this period there was neither printing press, post office, nor education worthy of the name. No real attempt was made to civilize the heathen, and there were but three clergymen within the Colony. There were no bridges nor roads in the country districts; and as all trade was in the Company's hands, no fair field for either commercial or agricultural industry existed. Many colonists found it advisable to migrate into the uncivilized interior, and a spirit of discontent was aroused, which increased with time, and at last found vent by a rebellion, which will have to be referred to in its proper place. The ill effects of slavery on public and private morals became soon perceptible, and precaution had to be taken against the outbreak of slaves, who frequently went about in troops for purposes of plunder.

In the year 1754 the Eastern boundary of the Colony was virtually fixed at the Zwartkops River, by the erection there under orders from the Company, of

a baaken, or token of possession. It was in this year that the disastrous wreck of the *Doddington* took place, on a rock forming one of the Bird Islands, at the entrance of Algoa Bay. On the 17th July, 1754, about one in the morning, the chief mate was violently awakened from sleep by the shock of the vessel striking, and when he hurriedly rushed upon deck a terrible scene of confusion met his sight. Leaden-coloured rocks were perceptible close at hand, and the sea broke with wild fury over the ship, sweeping away the seamen with every wave. With the greatest exertion twenty-three men contrived to reach the rocks in safety, and found themselves the only survivors out of a crew of 220 souls. After seven months' residence on this inclement rock, they launched a sloop which they had been able to make, and in it reached Delagoa Bay in safety, where they met an English ship, which took them to India.

Governor Tulbagh did not neglect to prosecute discovery, and in furtherance of this object dispatched an expedition to the northward, in 1761, and caused a careful report to be prepared upon the subject of the extensive mines of copper which were known to exist in Namaqualand.

CHAPTER VII.

Death of Governor Tulbagh. His character. Baron Joachim Von Plettenberg. Loss of the ship *Jonge Thomas*. Heroism of Woltemade. Ingratitude of the Governor. Order of the Home Government. Discontent of the Colonists. Deputation sent to Holland. Results. Fight between English and French fleets. Cape fortifications strengthened. Capture and destruction of Dutch vessels of war in Saldanha Bay. Paper currency. Wreck of the *Grosvenor*. Baron Van Oudtshoorn. Governor Van de Graaff. Division of Graaff-Reinet established. Commissioners Nederburgh and Frikenius. Governor Sluysken.

GOVERNOR RYK VAN TULBAGH died in 1771, after having secured the esteem and love of all classes of colonists, and was succeeded by Baron Joachim von Plettenberg. The loss of the ship *Jonge Thomas* occurred in Table Bay during the year 1773, and formed the occasion for the ever-memorable heroism of Woltemade. It was in a violent north-west gale on the morning of the 1st of June that this vessel parted from her anchors, and was driven on the sands near the mouth of the Salt River, in Table Bay. Scarcely had the ship struck when strenuous exertions were used to save as much as possible of the Company's property, though no effort was made to save the crew. An old man of the name of Woltemade, a German by birth, had a son in the citadel, a carpenter, who had been ordered out to guard the wrecked goods. This veteran borrowed a horse, and rode out early in the morning with provisions

for his son's breakfast. When he arrived, the vessel had completely broken up, and no sooner had he heard the lamentations of the distressed crew than he rode his horse, which was a good swimmer, to the wreck, with a view of saving some of them. He repeated his dangerous trip six times more, bringing each time two men on shore, and thus saving in all fourteen persons. The horse was by this time so fatigued that Woltemade did not think it prudent to venture out again; but the cries and entreaties of the poor creatures on the wreck still increasing, he ventured to take one trip more, which proved so unfortunate that he lost his own life. On this occasion too many rushed upon him at once—some of them catching hold of the horse's tail, and others of the bridle, by which means the horse, wearied out and too heavily laden, sank down, and all were drowned. This act of heroism was so unappreciated by the Governor that he even refused to Woltemade's eldest son the petty situation of keeper of beasts in the menagerie which had been held by his father. Subsequently, however, the Directors of the East India Company ordered that the children of Woltemade should, for the sake of their father, be well provided for, that one of their ships should bear his name, and that the story of his achievement should be painted on the stern.

It was at about this time that the travellers Sparrmann and Thunberg visited the Colony. The latter, who was Professor of Botany at Upsal, in Sweden, writes in a very severe manner of Governor

Von Plettenberg, whom he declares to be an unfeeling *bon vivant*—rich in money, but poor in spirit. It seems that he was cold-hearted and selfish; but many of his acts show evidence of ability; and the system under which he ruled, and for which he cannot be held responsible, was quite sufficient to render any Governor unpopular. There was neither liberty nor pretence of liberty. The contract of conditional freedom made with the original burghers was considered binding upon their children, and the Fiscal gave it as his opinion, on the occasion of the deportation of a citizen to Batavia, in 1780, that as no one can transfer any greater right than he himself possesses, and the father had become a burgher under the condition of being forced back into service, and deported whenever the Company might deem fit, so, therefore, the son could claim no exemption from such a demand. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that discontent prevailed, and that in the year 1779 lists of accusations against the Government, together with prayers for redress of grievances, were forwarded to Holland in charge of four delegates, named Jacob van Reenen, Barend Artuys, Tielman Roos, and Nicholas Godfrey Heyns. Among these petitions was one for the establishment of a printing press, or at least that authentic copies of the Indian statutes and general laws of Holland should be sent out, so that the Colonists might always be acquainted with the laws, and thus be relieved from the arbitrary exactions of Fiscals and Landdrosts. Their requests, although preferred with ability and energy, resulted

in little save the displacement of a few officials, and the system remained unchanged.

In the year 1780, a small squadron under the command of Commodore Johnstone, dispatched from England to take the Cape, was met at St. Jago by a French fleet under Admiral Suffren, and was so damaged in the fight that ensued as to be disabled from effecting the object of the expedition. Suffren lost no time in proceeding to Table Bay, and putting the place in a good state of defence; while Johnstone succeeded in capturing and destroying several Dutch vessels in Saldanha Bay. Le Vaillant,* the traveller, was present on this occasion, and refers to the blowing up of the *Middelburgh*, and the capture or destruction of the others. In 1782 a paper currency was issued, and notes for as low an amount as two stivers ($4\frac{1}{2}$ d.) were put into circulation. In this year (4th August) occurred the wreck of the East India-man *Grosvenor*, on the coast of Kaffraria, above the St. John's River. The greater portion of the crew, and all the passengers, succeeded in reaching the shore, and endeavoured to travel overland to the Colony. Only a very few, however, reached their

* The work of the French traveller, Le Vaillant, attracted a good deal of attention, but is considered to be in many respects untrustworthy. He describes Cape Town as possessing wide though not commodious streets, "the houses, almost all built uniform, are spacious and handsome, the tops covered with reed, as heavier roofs might occasion accidents during the high winds. The inside contains no frivolous luxuries; the furniture is simple, yet neat and handsome."

destination. Most of them perished on the journey; and it was conjectured that some had been made prisoners by the Kafirs. In 1790, the Colonial Government fitted out an expedition to proceed to the wreck. Descendants of Europeans who had been shipwrecked on the Kaffrarian coast were encountered, but no survivor of the ill-fated *Grosvenor* could be found.

Pieter Baron Van Rheede van Oudtshoorn, who had been appointed Governor, died on his passage to the Colony in 1773. Cornelis Jacobus Van de Graaff eventually succeeded Baron Von Plettenberg, and assumed his duties on 14th February, 1785. The fact that a number of scorbutic patients had been landed in Algoa Bay from the British East Indian Company's ship *Pigot* caused the formation of a new district called "Graaff-Reinet," in honour of the Governor and his wife Reinet, and with the view of preventing any foreign Power from settling at Algoa Bay. The newly-appointed Landdrost of this extensive tract of country received special instructions to recall those colonists who had gone into the country of the Kafirs beyond the Great Fish River, and to endeavour to cultivate amicable relations with the natives. According to a contemporary writer, Governor Van de Graaff was an energetic and able officer, whose exertions for the defence and prosperity of the Colony were unappreciated by the Company. In the year 1790, a command to discontinue the construction of fortifications, and to send 2,400 soldiers to Batavia, was accompanied by orders

that Van de Graaff should resign his appointment at the Cape in favour of Johannes Isaac Rhenius, who had been previously engaged in the Company's tea trade. This officer assumed his duties on the 29th June, 1791, but was soon afterwards superseded by the arrival of Commissioners Nederburgh and Frikenius from Holland. The discontent of the colonists, and their endeavours to obtain redress of grievances, although at first unsuccessful, helped to arouse that spirit of inquiry and desire to reform abuses which led to the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry. All abuses and malversations were to be searched for, investigated, and remedied. Order was to be evoked from the chaos of confusion into which the affairs of Government had degenerated, and justice was to replace arbitrary rule. But the colonists were again doomed to disappointment, as only a few administrative alterations were effected; and then, as more important colonies demanded their attention, the Commissioners left for Batavia in 1794, and appointed Mynheer Sluysken, an invalid returning to Holland, as their deputy.

CHAPTER VIII.

Disaffection throughout the Colony. Rebellion at Graaff-Reinet and at Swellendam. Arrival of a British fleet under Admiral Elphinstone. Negotiations. Capture of Muizenberg. Arrival of General Clarke with reinforcements. Capitulation.

GOVERNOR SLUYSKEN soon perceived that disaffection prevailed throughout the entire Colony, and that it had been considerably increased by the failure of the Commissioners to reform abuses. Rebellion had long been imminent in the country districts, and early in 1795 broke out at Graaff-Reinet. The Landdrost (Maynier) was expelled, and attempts were made to force some of the Heemraden and military officers to follow him. The Upper Merchant, Oloff Gottlieb de Wet, as well as Captain Van Hugel and Secretary Truter, were sent in vain to quiet these disturbances. Meanwhile, the people of Swellendam, encouraged by the success of those at Graaff-Reinet, removed their Landdrost (Faure) from office, although it is expressly stated that there was no charge against him. The ringleader at this place was a man named Pisanie, an Italian by birth, who had served as a soldier, deserted, and been banished. A reward of one thousand rixdollars was offered for his capture, and he was taken prisoner with two of his companions on the 13th August, 1795. The chief requests of the rebels were that commerce should be declared free and the cheat of paper money abolished, that they should be relieved from paying all dues and imposts,

deliver their produce to whom they pleased, and that every Hottentot taken prisoner or caught should for life remain the property of the captor. The incapacity of Sluysken was strikingly exhibited in his treatment of the rebellion. He declared that "he saw no other course open than to leave these people of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet to themselves, and to content himself by means of gentle remonstrances and letters to keep them in as much peace as possible, so that he so far succeeded by these means, and by appearing to be ignorant of the extreme irregularities which occurred." His chief defence is that the news of all this arrived when the English fleet came here. A small body of troops would, however, have been able to crush the insurrection in Swellendam, while the tame, submissive manner in which open rebellion was almost countenanced must have rendered the Government contemptible, and destroyed the feeling of confidence on the part of the inhabitants, so necessary when a hostile fleet and army demanded possession of the country.

On the 11th June, 1795, a fleet of nine English ships,* commanded by Admiral Elphinstone, sailed up to the anchorage in Simon's Bay, and the fact was immediately reported to the Government by the Resident Brand. A meeting of the Court of Policy was summoned, and energetic measures of defence resolved upon. Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille was dispatched

* The fleet comprised the following ships:—*Monarch*, 74 guns; *America*, 64; *Ruby*, 64; *Stately*, 64; *Arrogant*, 74; *Victorieuse*, 74; *Sphynx*, 24; *Echo*, 16; *Rattlesnake*, 16.

with 400 men to garrison the Muizenberg Pass between Cape Town and Simon's Town, alarm guns were fired, and large numbers of men bearing arms flocked in from Tygerberg, Koeberg, Zwartland, Stellenbosch, and Hottentot's Holland. But in spite of these preparations, no defence, worthy of the name was made. Admiral Elphinstone, in the first instance, sent a dispatch from himself and Major-General Craig, who commanded the land forces, requesting the surrender of the Colony under a mandate from the Hereditary Prince Stadtholder, then a refugee in England. Some correspondence followed, which was terminated by Governor Sluysken and Council ordering that no provisions should be sold to the English. The Admiral immediately commenced hostilities by ordering three line-of-battle ships and two frigates to open fire upon the Kalk Bay and Muizenberg forts. The former were soon silenced, while De Lille disgracefully retreated from Muizenberg, leaving behind guns, ammunition, provisions, and tents. Two thousand British troops were immediately marched against this officer, who was easily dislodged from his second position, and the important pass of Muizenberg taken. The colonists were disgusted at these events, and it was confidently stated, and generally believed, that Sluysken connived with De Lille to betray the Colony. At this time, the entire force at the Governor's disposal consisted of about three thousand men, and a vigorous effort, if made at once, might possibly have been crowned with success. Sluysken was well aware that a large reinforcement of men was expected

by Admiral Elphinstone, but frittered away time in consultations and petty attacks until the 4th of September, when fifteen British ships, with three thousand men under General Clarke, arrived in Simon's Bay. Sluysken was shortly afterwards forced to solicit a truce, and a capitulation was agreed to upon very favourable terms, which secured all the privileges which the colonists then enjoyed, and the existing public worship without alteration. The oath of allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain was required of all who continued to hold office, and General Craig, the Military Commander, was appointed Governor.

Sluysken, on his return to Holland, met with severe censure. He was evidently unfitted to hold the helm of Government under any circumstances, much less when the ship of state was exposed to the storms of hostile attack and internal dissension. The power of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape was now ended, after having lasted one hundred and forty-three years. As they sowed, so did they reap. Monopoly and the repression of industry destroyed commerce and fomented discontent, so that what might have grown into a wealthy and flourishing Colony, became merely a weak and struggling settlement, whose citizens were ever discontented and desirous of any change which could release them from the irksome regulations imposed by an association of merchants. A Government which was unable to control its own subjects at Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet, could have little influence over the scattered

farmers, by whom vengeance upon the coloured races for theft was considered almost a duty, and was practised with the greatest impunity. From official documents, concerning the authenticity of which there can be no doubt, it appears that from 1786 to 1795, no fewer than 617 horses, 17,633 cattle, and 77,176 sheep were stolen by Bushmen in the then recently-formed district of Graaff-Reinet, and that, during the same period, 2,480 natives were killed and 654 captured and reduced to bondage.

The Dutch Government were not disposed to suffer tamely the loss of such a valuable possession as the Cape. Accordingly, in February, 1795, they dispatched a fleet, under Admiral De Winter, for the capture of the Cape. This expedition was, however, remarkably unfortunate, as shortly after its arrival in Saldanha Bay, it was compelled to surrender to a superior force.

CHAPTER IX.

Appointment of the Earl of Macartney as Governor. Mr. Barrow, Secretary. Disturbance in Graaff-Reinet. Mr. Barrow sent inland as a Commissioner. A naval mutiny quelled. Proceedings in the Eastern Districts. Inroads of Kafirs. Defeat of the farmers, and death of Van der Walt at Gamtoos River. Naval engagement in Algoa Bay. Sir George Young. Sir F. Dundas. Treaty of Amiens, and surrender of the Colony to Holland. Statistics.

As the Secretary of State for the Colonies naturally thought that a civilian of high rank and character would be more acceptable to the colonists than the military officer (General Craig) to whom they surrendered, the Earl of Macartney received His Majesty's commission, and arrived in Cape Town on the 4th of May, 1797, accompanied by Mr. Barrow, afterwards Sir John Barrow, as Secretary. At this time, affairs appeared in a very bad position. The Landdrost and Clergyman sent up to Graaff-Reinet had been expelled, and this district was virtually in a state of rebellion; all classes were discontented, and both the people and the country were strange. The Landdrost was again sent, in company with Mr. Barrow, who was commissioned to report upon the state of the inland portion of the Colony. After having arranged matters at Graaff-Reinet, this officer proceeded to Kafirland, and there entered into an agreement with Gaika, to which the natives subsequently paid not the slightest attention. The

Great Fish River, the recognized boundary of the Colony on the East, was to be respected as a barrier between the colonists and the Kafirs. Mr. Barrow then proceeded over the Sneeuwberg to the Orange River, and through the country of the Bushmen, where his object was "to bring about a conversation with some of the chiefs of those poor people, to persuade them, if possible, to quit their wild and marauding life." The prudence and ability of Lord Macartney soon restored tranquillity and order. A proof of his firmness and capacity was furnished on the occasion of a mutiny in October, 1790, on board the flag-ship *Tremendous*, of the naval squadron then lying off the Amsterdam Battery in Table Bay. He immediately ordered the fort guns to be loaded, and shot to be heated in the ovens, while he dispatched a message to the mutinous crew, informing them that if they did not hoist the Royal Standard in half-an-hour as a token of unconditional surrender, he would blow their ship out of the water. Within the given time, submission was made.

The Earl of Macartney left the Cape on the 20th November, 1798, having invested the Lieut.-Governor, Major-General Dundas, with supreme authority.* The Colony had already advanced to a degree of prosperity which it had never known under its former masters; the public revenue was nearly doubled, without the addition of a single tax, and the value of

* He also allowed him to receive the entire salary of £10,000 per annum.

every kind of property had increased. No sooner had the Earl of Macartney left than the Boers of Graaff-Reinet broke out in rebellion; but this disturbance came to an end so soon as a military force was dispatched under General Vandeleur. At this time, Mr. Barrow acted as Commissioner to the Eastern Districts, and when near Algoa Bay was surprised to see a large number of Boers, who had been plundered by Hottentots, assembled together with their families, wagons, and cattle, in order to request British protection. The Hottentots, five hundred strong, also demanded redress. As His Majesty's steamer *Rattlesnake* was still in Algoa Bay, twenty armed seamen were landed, together with a swivel gun, which was mounted on a post between the Boers and the Hottentots. For several days, matters remained in the same position, until a rumour, set on foot by the Dutch, that the natives were to be carried off in English ships, so affrighted the Hottentots that they quickly dispersed.

About this time a united force of Hottentots and Kafirs ravaged the Graaff-Reinet division, defeated the Boers, and pursued them as far west as the Gamtoos River. Here they were met by a force under the command of the brave Tjaard Van der Walt, who was killed in the action that ensued. The terrified farmers then lost hope, and fled in various directions, and the progress of their pursuers was not checked until they were defeated by a force composed of English and Swellendam Boers, not far from Mossel Bay. During the time the British

frigate *Rattlesnake* was in Algoa Bay, a French man-of-war, *La Preneuse*, of 48 guns, sailed up to the anchorage flying British colours, and was supposed to be one of our fleet at that time stationed at the Cape. Having dropped anchor between the store-ship (a worn-out 74, named the *Camel*) and the *Rattlesnake*, a broadside was immediately fired into the former, and the tri-colour displayed. The best resistance possible was made; the troops at Algoa Bay were marched to the beach, and four guns brought from Fort Frederick, and mounted upon an improvised battery. The action, which was sharp, lasted six hours and twenty minutes, until darkness came on, and the French commander, probably over-estimating the means of defence, weighed anchor and sailed to the Bird Islands. The Admiral at the Cape subsequently sent out a frigate in pursuit, but *La Preneuse* escaped capture, because the British man-of-war was unable to fire her lower tier of guns. Afterwards, the French vessel was forced to run into the River Plate, where she was stranded and abandoned.

The retirement of William Pitt from the Government in England caused a new appointment to be made at the Cape, and Sir George Young was sent out as Governor, though General Dundas was at the same time appointed to be Commander-in-Chief and Lieutenant-Governor. Great discontent prevailed among Dutch and English under the new administration. Its duration, however, was very short. Sir George Young's Government lasted from 18th December, 1799, until 20th April, 1801, when he was recalled,

and General Sir Francis Dundas appointed. But this officer, in turn, was destined to be only a short time in power, as by the Treaty of Peace signed at Amiens on the 27th of March, 1802, it was especially provided "that the port of the Cape of Good Hope shall remain to the Batavian Republic in full sovereignty." In March, 1803, a large Dutch force arrived, and the British troops were removed into the castle until they could be embarked.

At the commencement of the present century there were in the Colony, 70,000 people, of whom there were no fewer than 25,000 slaves, and 15,000 Hottentots. The ancient tenure on which land had been granted was on "*loan*," on condition of paying an annual rent of twenty-four rix-dollars. Gratuities lands were those which, upon petition, had been converted into a sort of customary copyhold, liable to a nominal rent; a few real estates were held in fee simple, and the others were "*quitrent*" farms. The income of the Colony for the year 1800 amounted to £74,000, and the chief sources of revenue were public vendue or auction dues, transfer dues, land rents, duties on wine and grain levied at the barrier, licences to retail wines and spirits, customs, and interest on capital lent out through a Government loan bank. The expenditure chiefly consisted in the payment of civil establishment salaries and repairing public buildings, for which the revenue was so much more than adequate that in the year after the departure of Lord Macartney, there was a clear balance in the treasury amounting to between two and three hundred thousand rix-dollars.

Both the constitution and practice of the Court of Justice at the Cape remained unaltered at the capitulation. Two-thirds of its members were civil servants, and the remainder were chosen from the Burghers of the town. The Fiscal and the Secretary interpreted the law; proceedings were conducted with closed doors; no oral pleading nor confronting the accused with the witnesses was permitted, but depositions on oath were taken before two commissioners and subsequently read to the Court. No circumstantial evidence, however strong, could warrant a sentence of death being carried into execution until a free confession had been made. A Court of Commissaries for the trial of petty causes existed, and in the country districts the Landdrost and Heemraden administered justice. The Burgher Senate of Cape Town, consisting of six members, was the board to which the management of municipal affairs was entrusted. According to Barrow, the free inhabitants of Cape Town were too proud or too lazy to engage in any manual labour; and two-thirds of them owed their subsistence to the feeble exertions of their slaves. The most active and docile, but at the same time the most dangerous slaves, were the Malays. The vine-growers or wine-boers were very prosperous, and owned the best houses and most comfortable estates. Most of the corn-boers occupied loan farms, and though many of them were in good circumstances, held a lower rank than the wine-farmers. Graziers resident in the more remote parts of the Colony were, as might be expected, the least advanced in civiliza-

tion. The Dutch Reformed religion was established, and other sects, the principal of which was the German Lutheran, were barely tolerated. The Malay Mohammedans, who were not allowed to erect a mosque, performed their services in stone quarries close to the town. So far back as 1743, Baron Imhoff had urged the necessity of stationing clergymen throughout the Colony, which caused the erection, shortly afterwards, of churches at Roodezand (Tulbagh), and Zwartland (Malmesbury). No serious effort was, however, made to civilize the Hottentots. In 1788 several persons engaged to give religious instruction to the heathen, and in 1799 the South African Missionary Society was established.

CHAPTER X.

Commissary-General De Mist. Governor Janssens. Establishment of the division of Uitenhage. Preparations for war. Arrival of British expedition under General Baird. Battle of Blaauwberg. Retreat of General Janssens. Capitulation of Cape Town. Du Pré, Earl of Caledon, Governor. Slave insurrection. Circuit Courts established. Sir John Cradock.

THE 1st of March, 1803, was kept as a solemn day of thanksgiving for peace and the restoration of the Cape to the Dutch. On this occasion, Commissary-General De Mist granted an amnesty, promised a charter, and expressed enlightened views respecting the future administration of the Colony. In June of this year, the Governor (Janssens) proceeded on a tour throughout the Colony, and entered into a treaty with the Chief Gaika. He was, however, quite unable to settle the differences then existing among the Kafirs. At this period, apprehensions were entertained of a war in Europe which might cause a hostile attack to be made on the Colony; a militia was enrolled, and the Burgher Senate called upon all able men in the Colony to form themselves into a local corps.

Commissary-General De Mist left in February, 1805, after having established a system of Government far superior to that of the Company, and issued excellent instructions for the guidance of public boards and departments. A new division was formed between the village of Graaff-Reinet and the sea, on which the name of Uitenhage (a barony of Mr. De Mist's, in

Holland) was conferred. Another district called Tulbagh was established in the Western part of the Colony. It was Mr. Commissary De Mist who granted Van Riebeeck's heraldic arms to the Colony, and stated that he would have wished to name Cape Town Riebeeck's Town, if it were not for reasons connected with trade.

On Christmas Day, 1805, an American vessel brought news that an English fleet, carrying troops under the command of General Baird, had left Madeira for the East Indies. The Colonial forces were commanded to hold themselves in readiness, and a Hottentot contingent, 200 strong, was raised. On the 3rd January, 1806, the manœuvres of a small brig were noticed, which had evidently been detached from the English fleet to make observations. The next morning, signals on the Lion's Hill gave information that a formidable fleet was in sight, and in the evening it was known that fifty-nine sail had anchored between Robben Island and Blaauw-berg strand. Signal guns were fired, and the available military and militia force collected. These with the Burgher militia, amounted in all to between two and three thousand men.* Although the British expedition, which was under the command of Sir David

* There was also a battalion of French seamen and marines, part of whom had been stranded in the *Atalanta*, frigate, during a heavy gale, and another portion driven ashore in the corvette *Napoleon*, by His Majesty's ship *Narcissus*, which had called at the Cape a few days before the arrival of the English fleet.

Baird, had left Cork on the 2nd September, 1805, it was not until the 4th January, 1806, that the fleet anchored in Table Bay. Early on the morning of the next day, General Beresford made an unsuccessful attempt to land, and the *Diomedé*, with the transports carrying the 38th Regiment, was consequently dispatched to Saldanha Bay. The entire fleet would have followed, had not the Highland Brigade been successful in effecting a landing about six miles to the southward. A few shots from the gun-brigs dislodged the Dutch riflemen, and the only serious accident was the loss of a boat containing forty men of the 93rd Regiment, which was upset in the surf. The remainder of the troops disembarked on the 7th of January, as well as 500 sailors, who volunteered to drag the guns across the sands. At four o'clock on the morning of the 8th, the army marched over the Blaauwberg, and when on the crest of the hill, was formed into echelons of brigade, with the Highlanders about 200 yards in advance. The Dutch army was drawn up in order of battle, and their artillery, consisting of twenty field-pieces, posted considerably in front, opened fire.

General Baird commenced the action by dispatching the Grenadiers of the 24th Regiment to dislodge a body of mounted riflemen,—a service which they performed with intrepidity and serious loss. The main body continued to advance over a plain densely covered with heath and prickly shrubs; and through misconception of orders, began to fire before they were within killing distance.

Meantime, General Janssens rode along the Dutch line, earnestly entreating the men to do their duty, and was received with cheering, in which the battalion of Waldeck, who occupied the centre, was observed to join very faintly. A few shells shortly afterwards fell among those troops, and caused them to take to flight. The General determined to make the best stand he could without them, but soon saw to his dismay that the men of the 23rd Battalion were retreating. Having in vain exhorted them to stand, so much confusion ensued that a hasty retreat had to be made. As the British troops were fatigued with a march of six hours over scorching sands, after having been cooped up on board ship for five months, they were in no condition to pursue the enemy, so that General Janssens was able to retire without difficulty. Having ordered the Waldeck battalion to return to Cape Town, he retreated with the remainder of his forces to Hottentot's Holland Kloof (now Sir Lowry's Pass). The loss on both sides during the battle is conjectured to have been between 300 and 500 men.

The next morning, General Baird marched to Cape Town, and was within only a few miles of it, when a flag of truce, requesting a cessation of hostilities for forty-eight hours was received. In reply, the inhabitants were informed that, unless the town was surrendered within six hours, it would be entered by storm during the night. This threat had the desired effect, and the 59th Regiment were allowed to march in that evening and take possession of the lines. As General Janssens found his forces reduced to five

hundred by desertion and other causes, he was forced to sign a capitulation on the 18th January, 1806. The Dutch troops were to march to Simon's Bay within three days with their guns, arms, and baggage. Treasure and public property were to be delivered up. The garrison of the castle was to march out with the honours of war, and be provided with passage to Europe at the expense of the British Government. Burghers and other inhabitants were confirmed in their rights and privileges, paper-money was to remain current until instructions from England could be received, and the oath of allegiance had to be taken by the principal inhabitants. Thus ended the second period of Dutch rule, which was most beneficial to the Colony, and consequently furnished a great contrast to the misrule of the East India Company. Sir David Baird acted with ability and vigour. The 83rd Regiment was dispatched to Mossel Bay to cut off the enemy from approaching Swellendam, and preparations were made in Cape Town to provide against the possible attack of a French fleet. Many reforms were effected, and colonial affairs having been placed in a comparative state of order, Sir David Baird left Cape Town in the transport *Paragon*, on the 24th January, 1807, having delivered over the Government to Lieutenant-General Grey, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander of the Forces.

In May, 1807, Du Pré, Earl of Caledon, was proclaimed Governor. The efforts of this nobleman were earnestly directed to promote the welfare of the Colony, and to civilize the Hottentots, who

were protected by the establishment of written contracts and specific regulations. The number of slaves in the Colony had increased immensely, and an insurrection among them at first caused some alarm. Under the leadership of two white men several acts of violence and theft were committed, until detachments of soldiers sent against the insurgents dispersed their bands, and made a number of prisoners. Fifty-one of these rebels, out of three hundred and thirty-one, were brought to trial and convicted; but ultimately only seven were executed. Under Lord Caledon's Government it was found absolutely necessary to establish an efficient administration of justice throughout the country districts. The Boards of Landdrost and Heemraden could only take cognizance of minor offences, and the vast extent of the divisions, particularly those of Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhage, rendered recourse to those tribunals, in many cases, impossible. Two of the members of the Court of Justice were therefore appointed as a "Commission of Circuit," to hold a Court annually in each district. At this time, Dr. Van der Kemp and the Rev. J. Read, who interested themselves on behalf of the Hottentot race, brought forward and transmitted to Government serious charges of cruelty and injustice alleged to have been committed against these people by various inhabitants of the frontier districts. A commission was appointed, and the missionaries summoned to Cape Town. In the year 1811, Sir John Cradock was appointed Governor.

CHAPTER XI.

Origin, religion, and customs of the Kafirs. Retrospect. Their first contact with Europeans. Early conflicts. Colonel Collins recommends their expulsion from the Colony. Expelled by military force. Graham's Town established.

IN the case of the Kafir race, as in that of most barbarians who possess no record, it is impossible to trace their history previous to the period when they came into contact with civilization. It is known, certainly, that they first arrived near the Kei River in the seventeenth century ; but whence they came originally, or why they emigrated, is unknown. The word "Kafir" is derived from the Arabic "Kiafir," an unbeliever, and is the term given by the Portuguese at Mozambique to designate the inhabitants of the vast region extending from their settlements to the country of the Hottentots, now the Cape Colony. As a family of the human race, the "Kafir" is classed as being of a modified Negro physical conformation, and made to include—1. Tribes Amatabele, Amazulu, north of Natal; Amaponda, Amaxosa, &c., in Kaffraria; 2. Makololo, north, and Bakuku, north-west of Lake Ngami; as also all the Bechuanas; 3. Ovampos and Damaras, speaking the Ovampo or Otjiherero and its dialects, inhabiting the south-west African coast.

Our business, of course, is only with the Kafir tribes who border on the Cape Colony. They can be divided into two great families or nations, independent of each other, and known by the respective

names of Amaxosa (Ama signifies tribe), and Amatembu, or Tambookies; the former, a ferocious race, which was found inhabiting the colonial possessions from the Stormberg to the estuary of the Keiskama River; and the latter, a comparatively mild and inoffensive people, who occupied a northerly or inland position. Nothing has had a greater effect upon the polity and government of the Kafir tribes than their peculiar law of succession: the eldest son of the great wife succeeding to his father's dignity, while the eldest son of the *right-hand* wife is constituted the head of a certain allotted portion of the tribe. This system is the cause of discord, while it often leaves weak tribes of native races at the mercy of powerful neighbours. Their government is a mixture of feudalism with patriarchal customs. The Amapakati (middle ones) or council is a powerful check upon arbitrary power, composed of subjects who, by their courage or abilities, have proved their fitness to advise. They give military service whenever called upon, and, in return, are invested with civil jurisdiction in their respective neighbourhoods, and receive a considerable share of the spoils obtained in war. Each of them has his own followers and partizans, whom he shields to the best of his ability.

The most striking feature in the administration of justice is that every crime is punished by a fine. *Persons* are the property of the chief, and consequently the penalties for acts of personal violence and murder are received by him. In civil cases only, the party injured obtains the penalty.

The regular resources of Government are fines, presents extorted during friendly visits, and the plunder consequent on warlike excursions. Besides the local Government of each tribe, there is a nominal and loosely-constructed general Government, supposed to be exerted by the chief and council of the tribe first in hereditary rank; but this is only exercised in cases of appeal, and on subjects unconnected with internal tribal government. Among the Kafir tribes the legislative, judicial, and executive departments are confounded. Justice cannot be efficiently administered, as there is no code of laws to appeal to, and there is no fixed constitution or system of legislation. Lawless and predatory habits are fostered, and the desire of gain and the prospect of vengeance are the two ruling passions of the natives. As in the case of all other savages, their religion is a superstition which degrades woman to the lowest level, while their social system classes her among beasts of burden, and the goods and chattels of her master. Polygamy, of course, is universally allowed, and, under a system of purchase, the number of wives bears proportion to the wealth of the husband. The Kafir superstitions exercise such a powerful influence, that, until they are rooted out, there is no chance of missionary efforts being successful. Many of their religious rites are conducted in such secrecy as to be completely unknown, and their witch-doctors ought more correctly to be styled priests, who offer sacrifice and carry on the nefarious business of their religion.

It is by these miscreants that men are "smelt out," and put to death with lingering torture for alleged witchcraft, and they in turn are made the tools of designing chiefs.

The earliest record in our colonial archives regarding Kafirs refers to them as having been met with on a journey said to have been performed by shipwrecked mariners, from Rio de la Goa to the Cape, in 1683; but the first authentic account of the contact of Europeans with natives is to be found in the narrative of an expedition made by colonial farmers into the interior in 1684. In a dispatch sent to Holland in 1702, mention is made of predatory warfare carried on between colonial freebooters and natives near the Buffalo River. To judge by their own traditions, the Kafirs had very recently arrived there. The year 1760 is, however, generally admitted to be about the time when the Kafirs began seriously to effect conquests, and establish themselves in the country to the westward of the Kei River. Two migratory streams were setting towards the Eastern Districts, one composed of Kafirs proceeding from the east, and the other of colonists coming from the westward. Fierce and warlike savages, whose chief occupation was pillage, necessarily came into contact with the frontier farmers, and numerous sanguinary encounters took place.

In 1786 a verbal agreement was made with the Kafirs, providing that the Great Fish River should be considered the colonial boundary; and in the same year hostilities broke out between the

colonists and an intruding mixed race named the Gonnas, when the celebrated Kafir Chief T'Slambie aided the former. The Gonnas were eventually driven out; but soon again invaded the frontier districts, on which occasion no measures were taken to resist them. Colonel Collins, British Commissioner, when reporting upon this subject, remarked, that by neglect in not noticing this invasion the foundation was laid of the misfortunes that afterwards befel the Eastern districts. In 1792 the farmers were forced to league together for mutual defence, and a system of commandoes was the result. Among the causes of the frequent dissensions that took place, were hunting excursions of the Boers into Kaffraria, trading, and improper treatment of native servants by colonial farmers. In 1802, the Kafirs having penetrated far within the recognized boundary, a commando, under Tjaart van der Walt, attacked the enemy with vigour, and put them to flight; but this brave leader, having been summoned to the Gamtoos River, where a number of Hottentots had overrun the country, was there unfortunately killed in action. Botha, his successor, was unequal to the task which had devolved upon him, and the commando soon dispersed. T'Slambie saw his opportunity, and promptly availed himself of it. Kafir bands ravaged the country, and eventually General Dundas, on the eve of the surrender of the country to the Batavian Government, made an inglorious peace, providing that each power should retain the cattle that had come into its possession.

Under the Batavian Government, General Janssens made a treaty with the Kafirs at Sunday's River, by which they engaged to respect the boundary; but this, like previous arrangements, was soon totally disregarded by the natives. The reconquest of the Colony by Britain in 1806 inaugurated a policy of conciliation; but thefts by Kafirs continued to increase, and they are described in one proclamation as "irreclaimable, barbarous, and perpetual enemies." At last, then, robberies became so frequent, that a law was made in 1807 providing that each Kafir detected in the act of stealing might be shot. In 1809 Colonel Collins, who had been appointed Commissioner for Frontier Affairs, recommended the expulsion of the Kafirs from the Colony, and that insurmountable obstacles should be raised to their return by filling up the country with European emigrants, to whom small farms should be allotted, and who ought to have for their defence a strong militia force, consisting principally of Boers accustomed to border warfare. As the depredations of the Kafirs increased, and they showed themselves obstinately determined to retain a portion of the Colony, to which they had neither right nor title, a large force of military and burghers, under Colonel Graham, was sent to drive them beyond the Great Fish River. The Colonial forces entered the Zuurveld in 1811, and Landdrost Stockenstrom, who commanded the left division, was treacherously slain by the Kafirs when endeavouring, at a peaceful conference, to persuade them to leave the country. The result of this

expedition was that the natives' crops were destroyed, and their huts burnt, while 20,000 of their number were driven across the Sunday's River. It was not till the year 1815 that the Burgher forces could be disbanded. In the meantime, severe penalties were inflicted on any Kafir found within the Colony; a corps of Hottentots was raised; a strong line of posts formed along the frontier; and Graham's Town established as the head-quarters of the troops.

CHAPTER XII.

Bezuidenhout's rebellion. Lord Charles Somerset Governor. Kafirs depose Gaika. British troops reinstate and compensate him. Kafir wars. Statistics.

IN the year 1815, a farmer named Fredrik Bezuidenhout was shot by the military, when resisting the execution of a warrant issued against him on a charge of illtreating a Hottentot. Immediately after the departure of the soldiers, the relatives and friends of Bezuidenhout assembled to commit his remains to the grave; and on this occasion a brother of the deceased pronounced an inflammatory harangue, in which he contended that a burgher could only be legally arrested by his field-cornet or the civil authorities, and called upon the Boers to avenge this outrage by expelling the British forces from the Frontier. A rebellion took place; but it was crushed before it had assumed a very serious character. A troop of the 21st Dragoons under Colonel Cuyler, together with a band of burghers under Commandant Nel, advanced against the insurgents. Thirty of the rebels threw down their arms, and the remainder retired with their wagons and cattle into the fastnesses of the Baviaan's River. Eventually, the principal leaders were surprised and surrounded in a deep kloof by a detachment of the Cape Corps, under Major Fraser. Fifty or sixty rebels were secured, and a special commission appointed to try them. Six of the leaders were condemned to death (the others to undergo

various degrees of punishment), and on the 6th of March, 1816, five of this number were executed at Slachters Nek.

Lord Charles Somerset was appointed Governor of the Colony in 1814, and in the following year the Cape of Good Hope was definitely ceded to England by the Treaty of Paris. It was on the 30th May, 1815, that the frightful shipwreck of the *Arniston*, East Indiaman, took place on Cape L'Agulhas, when no fewer than 344 persons perished.*

The Kafirs who had been driven from the Zuurveld in 1811 found means by degrees to recover a considerable portion of the lost territory, and recommenced a system of plunder, which, in spite of a treaty made with Gaika, then paramount chief, continued to be carried on extensively. At last, restitution of some stolen cattle having been refused by T'Slambie, Major Fraser was sent against him with 450 men. This chief easily secured the aid of many others who were, like himself, determined to maintain the predatory system; and as Gaika had opposed it, and incurred their jealousy by assuming paramount authority, they first directed their arms against him, and succeeded in defeating him at the Koonap, before

* On the 15th December, 1817, a large ship named the *Amsterdam*, after having been dismasted in a severe gale, was run ashore between the mouths of the Coega and Zwartkops Rivers in Algoa Bay. The extensive calcareous tract of country about eighteen miles from Port Elizabeth, on the road to Graham's Town, was named Amsterdam Flats in consequence.

any assistance from the Government could arrive. A great commando of military and burghers, comprising 3,352 men, was now assembled under Lieutenant-Colonel Brereton, with a view to restore Gaika to his supremacy and dominions. This force entered Kaffraria by De Bruin's Poort, on the 3rd December, 1818, and was then joined by Gaika, with 6,000 fighting men. T'Slambie's adherents were driven from their villages, and attacked with shells in the dense bush to which they had fled for safety. No opposition was attempted; Gaika was reinstated in his former position; and no fewer than 11,000 cattle were handed over to him by the victors as compensation.

While these military operations were going on in Kafirland, the confederate chiefs took advantage of the absence of our forces to invade the Colony. They crossed the Fish River in numerous bodies, drove in the small military posts, and ravaged the frontier districts. Before additional troops could be sent to the front, the tribes of T'Slambie and Congo, incited to fanaticism by a witch-doctor named Makanna or Lynx, marched a force of between 8,000 and 10,000 men out of the Great Fish River Bush, and attacked the head-quarters of the military at Graham's Town. Providentially, a small force, with two six-pounders, was at hand, and the attack was repelled. This, however, was only effected with the utmost difficulty; the field-pieces had thrice to be limbered up and taken to the rear, and it was only when under cover of the few houses of Graham's

Town that the fire became so effective as to force the Kafirs to retreat. As it was impossible to protect the frontier effectively so long as the dense Fish River Bush remained in the hands of the enemy, orders were given to expel them from the country between the Fish River and the Keiskamma. This was very successfully done by a large force under Colonel Wilshire. Many of Gaika's men were engaged in the attack on Graham's Town, and his chief interpreter (Nootka) was shot in the act of attempting to stab the British commander. Lord Charles Somerset proceeded to the frontier in 1819, and there concluded a treaty with the Kafir Chiefs, when it was agreed that they should evacuate the country between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma, and that this territory should form neutral ground. Subsequently, Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin obtained a modification of the agreement, by which British military posts could be stationed between the Fish River and the Keiskamma.

Before referring to the arrival of the British Settlers, who came to the Eastern Province in 1820, it seems desirable to glance at the condition of the Colony at this period. Its area then included 128,150 square miles. The population was 110,000, of whom 48,000 were whites, 29,000 Hottentots, and 33,000 slaves or apprentices. The commerce of the Colony was restricted to Table Bay; a few articles, such as butter, salt, soap, and some whale-oil and skins, being the sole exports from Algoa Bay. The Colonial imports in 1821 amounted to £454,166;

exports, £150,909 (including wine, £82,170). The public revenue in the same year amounted to £109,763. Payments, £93,743. The currency was a depreciated paper issue, with a rate of exchange against the Colony reaching in September, 1821, to no less than 161 per cent. Out of Cape Town there were but three churches, and the education of the colonists, as well as the civilization of the heathen, were neglected. The *Gazette* and an advertising sheet were the only newspapers published, and the Government possessed in it no element of a representative character.

CHAPTER XIII.

More than 4,000 emigrants are sent out by the British Government to the Eastern Districts. Sir R. S. Donkin. Port Elizabeth founded. Privations and sufferings of the Settlers. Commissioners sent out. Sir Lowry Cole. First newspaper established. First steamer enters Table Bay. Inroad of the Fetcani. Sir R. Bourke, Governor. Public institutions founded. Disaffection among Natives. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Governor. Kafir war of 1834 commences. Dr. Smith's expedition of discovery.

IN the year 1819, the British House of Commons voted £50,000 in aid of emigration to the shores of Algoa Bay. Out of no fewer than ninety thousand applicants, four thousand people were carefully chosen. Money deposits were required from all, and twenty-three vessels were chartered to carry them to their destination. The two first ships were the *Chapman* and *Nautilus*, which sailed from Gravesend on the 3rd December, 1819, and anchored in Algoa Bay on the 9th of April, 1820. All the others followed within a few months. Immigrants were settled in the Zuurvelden, a belt of land comprising an area of about 3,000 miles, extending eastward from the Sunday's River to the Great Fish River, and southward from Graham's Town to the sea. The Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, went to England, leaving Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin to act in his stead. This officer proceeded to Algoa Bay, where he founded the town which was named Port Elizabeth, in honour of his deceased wife, to

whose memory he erected a pyramid on the hill. He then visited the various locations, and established Bathurst, which he intended should be the chief town of the settlement. Numerous misfortunes attended the first efforts of the Settlers. Their crops were destroyed by rust, thefts by Kafirs were of frequent occurrence, and violent tempests of wind and rain caused destruction to life and property. Political disaffection also existed. On the return of Lord Charles Somerset from England, he expressed his complete disapproval of the popular system of his predecessor, and one of his first acts was to remove the Albany seat of magistracy from Bathurst to Graham's Town. The Settlers were at first desirous to remove to some other Colony; but finding that removal would be attended with great difficulty, addressed the British Government on the subject of their grievances. Previously, large sums had been subscribed for their assistance, and their rations and transport had been provided free of cost. On the 5th February, 1824, Royal Commissioners of Inquiry arrived in Graham's Town, and the result of the report made by these gentlemen was the suppression of several abuses, and the erection of an Executive Council, whose duty it was to advise and assist Her Majesty's representative. To the visit of these Commissioners has been ascribed the establishment of a free press.

On 7th January, 1824, Mr. John Fairbairn and Mr. Thomas Pringle (the poet) published the first number of a newspaper entitled the *South African Commercial Advertiser*. On the 17th May, Lord

Charles Somerset ordered that the printing of this journal should be suspended on account of articles offensive to the Government having been published in it; but on representations having been made to England the publication of the paper was permitted. The South African Museum was founded on the 6th of June, 1825, and it was on the 13th October of that year that the first steamer (the *Enterprise*) arrived in Table Bay. Lord Charles Somerset left the Colony on the 5th of May, 1826, Sir Richard Bourke, who was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, having arrived previously. The report of the Royal Commissioners of Inquiry was issued under date 6th September, 1826, recommending that the Civil Governments of the Eastern and Western Provinces should be kept distinct. A number of reforms took place in 1827, the principal of which were the establishment of a Supreme Court under a Royal Charter of Justice issued by the Crown, and the abolition of the Boards of Landdrost and Heemraden, for which the present system of Civil Commissioners, Resident Magistrates, and Justices of the Peace was substituted. The monopoly by Government of the retail sale of wines and spirits, called the Pacht, farmed out to the highest bidder, was discontinued, and licences granted to qualified persons. The office of Vendue Master, or Government Auctioneer, who had the sole privilege of selling all property by public competition was abolished. The Burgher Senate, now no longer requisite, ceased to exist.

Captain A. Stockenstrom, Chief Magistrate of Graaff-Reinet, was appointed in 1828 Commissioner-General on the Eastern Frontier, and it was in this year that large numbers of Mantatees, or Fetcani, threatened the Colony with a warlike incursion. These savages, formerly settled near Delagoa Bay, were put in motion by the conquests of the Zulu Chieftain Chaka. In 1827, headed by a Chief named Matuana, they attacked the Tambookies, and then turning in a south-easterly direction, proceeded to attack the Galeka Kafirs, whose Chief, Hintza, urgently begged for succour from the Colony. Major Dundas, Civil Commissioner of Albany, assisted by a body of the British Settler youth, met and defeated the invaders at the Bashee River, on the 26th July, 1828. In the following month a body of troops under Colonel Somerset engaged and completely routed them at the sources of the Umtata.

A desire for free representative institutions prevailed at this date throughout the entire Colony. In Cape Town and Graham's Town public meetings were held, and memorials were adopted praying for the institution of a Legislative Assembly. In the year 1828, Dr. Cowie, the district surgeon of Albany, and Mr. Benjamin Green went overland to Delagoa Bay, and died on their return journey. These travellers were the pioneers of several explorers who eventually succeeded in opening a trade with the Bechuanas on the north and the Zulus of Natal on the east.

Sir Richard Bourke left the Colony in September,

1828, and was succeeded by Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole. Among the first acts of the new Governor was an Ordinance establishing the freedom of the press, and the inauguration of great roads to the interior by the opening of Sir Lowry's Pass in the Hottentots' Holland mountains. In 1829, the South African College in Cape Town was opened; and, in 1830, the cartoon or paper currency, the value of which had by authority been reduced to eighteen pence the rixdollar (originally issued on security of public property at the rate of four shillings), was withdrawn, and silver coinage substituted. In 1829 serious disturbances were caused on the frontier by Macomo, son of Gaika, together with other Kafir Chiefs, attacking the Tambookies on the Zwarte Kei River, and driving them into British territory. An official inquiry was instituted, which resulted in the expulsion of Macomo from the Kat River, and the subsequent establishment of a settlement at that place, where a missionary school in connection with the London Society was soon afterwards opened.

In 1831, the South African Fire and Life Insurance Company—the first of a number of successful corporate institutions—was established in Cape Town; and the Savings Bank, which has since been so useful and successful, commenced its operations. In 1833, the people of Cape Town, under the patronage and with the assistance of Government, dispatched an exploring expedition into the interior, under Dr. Andrew Smith, assisted by a staff of scientific men.

They did not proceed further than the country of the Zulu Chief Moselikatze (lat. 25° long. 27°), and no geographical knowledge was obtained, nor any narrative of the journey written. A valuable work, portraying subjects of natural history was, however, published in England by Dr. Smith. Sir Lowry Cole left the Colony in August, 1833, and was succeeded by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who arrived in the Colony on the 16th of January, 1834. One of the first acts of the new Governor was to lay before the Legislative Council an Ordinance for the better suppression of vagrancy in the Colony. This proposed law created great discontent. The Superintendent of the London Missionary Society in Cape Town, together with the Hottentots and their teachers at the Kat River Settlement, were particularly opposed to it. The discontent caused by this proposed measure was taken advantage of by the Kafirs, who put themselves in the position of allies of the Hottentots. During 1834, numerous thefts and outrages were committed, and at last the murder of a trader named Purcell, and the attack on a British officer who had seized cattle for theft, made it absolutely necessary to take active and decisive steps. Colonel Somerset collected a force of mounted riflemen, with whom he proceeded through the territories of the Chief Eno, and secured some compensation for the numerous robberies of stock from British subjects. While these events were occurring near the coast, the Kafirs in the more northern districts seemed determined to resist the attempt of the party under Lieutenant Sutton, which

had been dispatched to make them move across the boundary. A serious skirmish ensued, which would have terminated fatally, if prompt reinforcements had not been dispatched from Fort Beaufort. A daring scheme to entrap Colonel Somerset, the Frontier Commandant, fortunately proved unsuccessful. In December, 1834, the Kafirs, in great force, made an inroad on the Colony, burning houses, carrying off cattle, and, in many instances, killing the farmers. The greatest dismay prevailed. Homesteads, herds, flocks, the accumulations of the hard labour of fifteen years, were given up, and the people, as advised by the Public Committee of Safety, sought shelter in the principal towns. In Graham's Town, the church was set apart as an asylum for women and children, as well as a magazine for gunpowder and fire-arms; public meetings were held; picquets of armed citizens dispatched to watch the main roads, and every possible means of defence adopted.

CHAPTER XIV.

Kafir war of 1834. The Fingoes become British allies. Treachery of Hintza. His death. Peace declared. Losses by the war. House of Commons Aborigines Committee appointed. Lord Glenelg's policy. Captain Stockenstrom appointed Lieutenant-Governor. Reversal of the D'Urban policy. Discontent in the Colony. Public meeting in Graham's Town. Court of inquiry regarding death of Hintza.

AT the commencement of the war of 1834, large numbers of cattle were seized by the Kafirs in the Uitenhage division, and throughout the Eastern Province. In fact, the country was pillaged and laid waste. Farmers had to fly for their lives, or were murdered in defence of their homes; but as time advanced, European organization began to tell, and engagements took place in which, though fighting against fearful odds, the white men proved their superiority. Near the Kat River, thirty men were attacked by one hundred and fifty Kafirs; but the few Europeans being fortunately able to get under cover of a large bush poured thence such a destructive fire that the Kafirs were seized with a panic, and precipitately fled, leaving seventy-five dead, among whom were four of their chiefs. Early in January, 1835, an unsuccessful attack was made upon Hermanus Kraal (eighteen miles north-east of Graham's Town), defended by a small detachment of the 75th Regiment and twenty farmers; and on the evening of the same

day Lieut.-Colonel Smith arrived from Cape Town, after a journey of only six days, and took command of the colonial forces. Sir Benjamin D'Urban soon followed with the 72nd Regiment, and the districts of Albany and Somerset were placed under martial law, while the burgher force of Graham's Town was formed into a corps consisting of four companies of infantry, and one troop of cavalry, styled the Graham's Town Volunteers.

Early in February it was found that the savages were retiring with their plunder to the woody fastnesses of the Great Fish River and to the Amatola range of mountains. Colonels Smith and Somerset were consequently sent against them, and succeeded in recapturing a portion of the stolen cattle. As the Governor had reason to believe that Hintza was an accomplice of the chiefs who had invaded the Colony, a messenger was sent to him requiring an immediate declaration of his intentions, and informing him that if the booty in his territory were not restored, he would be treated as an enemy. Only evasive and unsatisfactory answers being returned, the Governor, on 14th April, 1835, moved with the first division of his forces, and on the next day arrived on the right bank of the Kei, Hintza's western boundary. Negotiations proved unsatisfactory. Hintza treated the British forces with scorn, feeling confident in the security afforded by the deep kloofs, and almost inaccessible fastnesses of his bushy country. He was soon, however, to be undeceived.

War was declared; the Fingoes* joined the British forces, and so promptly and successfully was Hintza attacked that even his principal wife found a difficulty in effecting her escape. Messengers who were sent to ask for peace were informed that they would not be listened to, and that none could be treated with but Hintza himself, who was assured of a safe conduct should he desire to come to the Governor. Shortly afterwards, Hintza entered the camp with a retinue of fifty followers, and humbly begged for peace. All the demands of Sir Benjamin D'Urban were acceded to, and a treaty concluded. Very shortly afterwards, the startling intelligence reached the camp that Hintza's people had commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of the Fingoes (who were now in the position of Government allies), and it was only after they saw that the British would quickly resent and avenge this massacre that it was countermanded. The Fingoe nation afterwards entered the Colony under military protection, and of this people no fewer than 2,000 men, 5,600 women, and 9,200 children (accompanied by 22,000 cattle) crossed the Kei. According to agreement, Colonel Smith, with a considerable force, proceeded with Hintza to collect the cattle due under the treaty, and apprehend the mur-

* Fingoes are the remnants of eight powerful nations, driven out of their country in consequence of war. They sought refuge with the western tribes under Hintza, and were then subjected to such a cruel and degrading system of slavery (Fingoe means "dog") that they gladly availed themselves of British aid to assert their independence. They became valuable allies, and have been very successful in the Colony.

derers of British subjects, and the former told his hostage that if he attempted to escape he would be shot. Hintza, however, after having led the troops to a tongue of land running parallel with the Xabecca River, put spurs to his horse, and attempted to get away. Colonel Smith, who had the only steed capable of overtaking the fugitive, followed him at full gallop, and after having snapped his pistols and hurled them at the Chief's head unavailingly, by a tremendous exertion got abreast of Hintza, flung himself upon him, and succeeded in throwing him violently from his horse. This struggle gave time to Messrs. G. and W. Southey, and W. Shaw, of the Corps of Guides, to come up. Hintza, on foot, had just hurled an assegai at Colonel Smith, who, still retaining his seat on horseback, had been borne forward some distance. Hintza paid no attention to Mr. G. Southey, who, in the Kafir language, and in a loud voice, called on him to stop. The latter then fired and wounded Hintza, who fled swiftly down hill, and gained the cover of a thicket which lines the river's banks. Southey and Lieutenant Balfour followed, and they proceeded some distance in opposite directions, when the former saw an assegai strike the rock upon which he was then climbing. Turning round suddenly, Southey beheld Hintza close at hand, in the act of hurling an assegai; in an instant his gun was fired, and soon the Paramount Chief of Kafirland ceased to live.*

* On the day succeeding Hintza's death, Major White, of the Burcher force, was treacherously assassinated by Kafirs, while engaged in surveying.

When the Governor became aware of what had occurred, he at once recognized Hintza's great son, Kreli, as his successor, released him from all further restraint, and entered into a treaty of peace. Sir Benjamin D'Urban then recrossed the Kei River, established several military posts, and proclaimed the country between the Kei and the Keiskamma to be annexed to the Cape Colony, under the title of the Province of Adelaide, while he established its capital on the Buffalo River, and named it King William's Town. Soon afterwards, the Chiefs Tyali, Macomo, and others thought it advisable to submit, and on the 17th September, 1835, peace was declared. One good effect of the war was the liberation of 15,000 Fingoes from cruel servitude. Although Sir Benjamin D'Urban's policy had secured the approval of the great majority of colonists, it did not meet with the approbation of His Majesty's Government. In a dispatch dated 28th December, 1835, Lord Glenelg, Secretary of State for the Colonies, stated that in the conduct which was pursued towards the Kafir nation by the colonists and the public authorities of the Colony, through a long series of years, the Kafirs had ample justification for the late war; and that the claim of sovereignty over the new Province, bounded by the Keiskamma and the Kei, must be renounced. This decision caused great dissatisfaction in the Colony, and was shortly followed by the appointment of Captain Stockenström to be Lieutenant-Governor in the Eastern districts, charged with the duty of carrying out the views of the Home Government.

Dr. Philip, the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society, and Mr. Fairbairn, the editor of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, were the principal advocates in the Colony of the native policy recommended by Lord Glenelg. A Select Committee of the House of Commons had been appointed in July, 1835, for the purpose of "considering what measures ought to be adopted with regard to the native inhabitants of countries where British settlements are made." Captain Stockenstrom, two missionaries named Reed, the Chief Jan Tzatzoe, and Andreas Stoffels, a Hottentot of Kat River, were among the witnesses examined. When Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom arrived in Graham's Town, he declined to receive an address which reflected severely upon the policy which he was instructed to carry out, and two days afterwards a large public meeting was held in Graham's Town, when it was resolved that "the meeting unequivocally denies the fact, as stated by Captain Stockenstrom before the Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons, that the British settlers of Albany have in any way participated in those 'atrocities' which he has described as being of frequent occurrence; and that they await the inquiry they have applied for." The Lieutenant-Governor lost no time in carrying out his instructions, and on the 5th of December, 1836, the Province of Queen Adelaide, together with the territory between the Great Fish and Keiskamma Rivers, ceded by Gaika to the Colony in 1819, was restored to the Kafirs. Treaties were at the same time entered into with their chiefs, absolving them from their late sworn allegiance. The line of frontier was now the

Great Fish River, on whose banks for a considerable distance extended a dense jungle, intersected by deep ravines. Lord Glenelg ordered a Court of Inquiry to investigate and report upon the death of Hintza. This act was held by the tribunal appointed to have been quite justified; and Lord Glenelg subsequently stated it to be his opinion that Hintza had been engaged in a secret conspiracy, and on himself, therefore, rested the responsibility for the calamity in which he and his people were involved. Shortly after, the British Legislature passed an Act "for the prevention and punishment of offences committed by His Majesty's subjects within certain territories adjacent to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope."

CHAPTER XV.

Pieter Retief expresses the discontent of the Dutch farmers. Great trek from the Colony to the interior. Sir George T. Napier, Governor. Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom. Abolition of slavery. Resignation of Lord Glenelg. Political state of the Colony. Local events. Mr. John Montagu, Colonial Secretary. Construction of roads. Sir P. Maitland, Governor. Uneasiness on the frontier. Natal annexed. Settlers' Jubilee.

A FIELD-CORNET named Pieter Retief incurred the displeasure of Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom, by forwarding an address from the inhabitants of the Winterberg district containing severe reflections on the policy of the Government. Retief was threatened with dismissal, and replied that if protection against the native tribes were not afforded to the farmers, they would leave the country. An emigration of Dutch farmers from the Colony to the interior subsequently took place, when it is conjectured that not fewer than six thousand people followed Retief into the desert. In the manifesto published by these men, the following are stated as their reasons:—"Unrestrained vagrancy; pecuniary losses sustained by the slave emancipation; wholesale plunder by Kafirs and Hottentots, desolating and ruining the frontier divisions; and the unjustifiable odium cast upon the inhabitants by interested persons, whose testimony is believed in England, to the exclusion of all evidence in their favour." On the occasion of the accession of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, in 1837, the people of Albany, in an address sent to England, stated that emigration had increased

in consequence of the insecurity of life and property, and asked for a rigid inquiry into their grievances.

A new Governor, Sir George Thomas Napier, arrived in January, 1838, and ruled the Colony until December, 1843. In February, 1838, a body of the Cape Corps, instigated by several Kafir chiefs, concerted a plot for the invasion of the Colony; but the conspirators having been thwarted, revenged themselves by shooting one of their officers. The principals in this murder were apprehended and executed in presence of the Governor. Early in 1838, Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom instituted an action of damages in the Supreme Court against Captain Campbell, Civil Commissioner of Albany, for an alleged conspiracy against his life and honour; but after an argument before a full Bench, judgment was given for the defendant. He shortly afterwards left on a visit to England, and before his departure, in answer to an address from the Kat River, remarked: "I may here repeat what I said to the Kafir chiefs at parting—If ever now, after the system established, and the selection of the men to administer it, you prove restless and turbulent, your friends in England will have every reason to decide that you were in the wrong throughout. This may be my last legacy." On the 10th of July, 1838, the British House of Commons refused to agree to a motion made by Mr. Gladstone for a Commission of Inquiry into the past and present state of our relations with the Kafir tribes. In May of this year (1838) the Prince of Orange visited Cape Town, where he was received by all classes of the community with great respect and rejoicing.

The final extinction of slavery at the Cape dates from 1st December, 1838, although its abolition was proclaimed in 1834, from which period the slaves were indentured for four years. There were 35,745 slaves in the Colony, valued at £3,000,000, representing an average of £85 per head. In England, the price having been reduced to £33 12s., £1,200,000 was voted as an indemnity money. Unfortunately, bad arrangements were made, so that instead of the amount being receivable in the Colony, it was made payable in London; and in many instances claims were sold at a discount of 25 to 30 per cent.

The frequent outrages and robberies committed by the Tambookies made it necessary, in 1839, to send an armed expedition into their country, which punished them, and carried off 500 head of cattle, as compensation for those which had been stolen. On the 8th of February of this year, Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, resigned; and on the 31st August, Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom, then in Europe, was informed that his retirement from office was inevitable, in consequence of the feelings of distrust and alienation which had taken such a deep root in the minds of a large proportion of the Colonists. Colonel Hare, second in command at the Cape, became his successor. In 1840, the unquiet state of the frontier rendered it necessary for the Governor, Sir George Napier, to proceed there in person; and in December of this year, he held a grand palaver with the Kafir Chiefs at the Chumie, where Sandilli, Tyali, Macomo, Eno, Botman, and

other Chiefs, together with about 4,000 of their followers, were assembled. On this occasion some modification in existing treaties was arranged, which provided that farmers who were robbed might freely pass into Kafirland, unarmed, with only a small party, and if they traced their property, might lay the case before the Diplomatic Agent.

At this period (1841) the Governor of the Colony was assisted by an Executive Council, composed of certain heads of departments in Cape Town, and a Legislative Council, which comprised five official members, and five gentlemen who held no office, and were nominees of the Governor. An observation publicly made by His Excellency, to the effect that the control over the expenditure of public money was entirely regulated at home, increased the desire, already strongly felt, for the establishment of representative institutions. At large and influential meetings held both in Cape Town and Graham's Town, resolutions were passed earnestly petitioning for the concession of this privilege; and at the latter town the attention of the Home Government was also drawn to the necessity of immigration, and to the working of the then existing frontier system.

The *Hope* packet, the first steamer that plied between Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, was wrecked upon the Zitzikamma coast on the 9th March, 1840. The passengers and crew, seventy-two in number, were saved. Very violent storms prevailed between the months of July and September, 1842. In Table Bay, the convict ship *Waterloo*, the troop ship *Aber-*

crombie Robinson, as well as several others, were wrecked with a loss of 194 lives. On the reefs of Cape Recif, at the entrance to Algoa Bay, the *Sabina*, a large Spanish ship, with a cargo valued at £90,000, went ashore, and became a total wreck. Out of sixty-four persons on board, twenty perished. The necessity of placing a lighthouse on this dangerous cape was so evident, that strong representations were made, which resulted in the erection of a suitable building, completed in April, 1851.

At the suggestion and under the direction of Mr. John Montagu, Secretary to Government, great improvements were effected in the roads of the Colony and in the organization of the convict establishment. The sand-drifts on the Cape Flats presented a very serious obstacle to traffic; but by planting the shifting sands with the *Mesembryanthemum* or Hottentot Fig, and freely sowing seeds of hardy grasses, the drift was arrested. The Cradock Kloof, in the district of George, was one of the most dangerous and difficult mountain passes in the Colony, severing the Eastern from the Western districts. Frequent applications had been made in vain to the Home Government for its approval of the construction of a road across. At last Colonel Mitchell, when in England, explained the necessity of the work. It was afterwards completed under the auspices of Mr. Montagu, whose name was conferred on the pass. The Public Road Board, established in 1844, was instrumental in carrying out various extensive works, which had the effect of facilitating internal communication.

Sir Peregrine Maitland was appointed Governor on

the 19th December, 1843, and ruled the Colony until 27th January, 1847. The object of his appointment, stated by himself, was "to examine into the state of Kafir relations, as the frontier was greatly unsettled on account of the number of robberies, and several murders, represented in numerous petitions sent home; and that he was to investigate the real state of affairs, and modify, if found necessary, the existing treaties." Previous to his arrival, there had been constant robberies and complaints. Lieutenant-Governor Hare was obliged to resort to military interference against Macomo and Eno, in order to oblige them to pay indemnities for thefts. It shortly afterwards became necessary that the Governor should proceed to the frontier, where he met the various Chiefs and a vast assembly of natives, and remonstrated with them on their conduct. A site between the Kat and Chumie Rivers was fixed on for a military post, named Victoria.

On the 31st of March, 1844, Letters Patent from England were issued, annexing Natal to the Cape of Good Hope. It became subsequently a separate Colony, with a Lieutenant-Governor and Legislative House of its own. The Governor of the Cape Colony is also Her Majesty's High Commissioner, and in this capacity protects British interests as regards relations with all the Native tribes of South Africa. In April of the same year the twenty-fifth anniversary of the arrival of the British settlers of 1820 was held throughout the Eastern Province.

CHAPTER XVI.

Kafir war of 1846-7. Sir P. Maitland recalled. Sir H. Pottinger, Governor. Recalled. Sir Harry Smith, Governor. Office of Lieutenant-Governor abolished, and Sir H. F. Young recalled. Annexation of British Kaffraria. Termination of the war.

IN 1845 there were not wanting signs of an approaching war. Robberies and assaults by Kafirs continued; meetings were held by the inhabitants calling the attention of the Government to the state of the country. Great dissatisfaction was caused by the threatened abolition of the office of Lieutenant-Governor; and an address was sent to the Queen upon the subject, asking for an officer with enlarged powers. The conduct of Sandilli to Lieutenant-Governor Hare, when inspecting the site for a military post at Block-drift, was markedly insulting, and several acts of outrage and theft followed. At the beginning of 1846 Sandilli had joined a war party, and, with the other Chiefs, was ready to commence hostilities. On one occasion he appeared publicly with 5,000 of his people—2,000 of whom were armed with guns. A pretext for war was only wanted, and the apprehension of a Kafir for stealing a hatchet furnished it. When this prisoner was on his way under escort to Graham's Town, a strong body of natives rescued him, by cutting off the wrist of the Hottentot to whom he was manacled, in order the sooner to set him at liberty. The "War of the Axe" was thus commenced, and

was protracted for nearly two years, with most disastrous effects to the Colony.

An inadequate force was sent into the field during April, 1846, for the purpose of reaching the Amatola fortresses quickly, and there striking a decisive blow. The season was most unpropitious for the movement of troops, the severe drought interfering with the transport of supplies. The Colonial force arrived at Burns' Hill mission station, on the upper part of the Keiskamma River; a fight took place, when the Kafirs succeeded in capturing 63 baggage wagons. The troops had then to fall back upon Blockdrift; the post of Victoria was abandoned and burnt; 41 wagons were seized by the enemy at Trompetter's Drift; and no fewer than 4,000 cattle were captured by the Kafirs in an attack on Fort Peddie. These disasters looked very serious at the beginning of the campaign. The Kafirs were so encouraged as to press forward with redoubled vigour into the Colony, where a panic took place, and the farmers were forced either to huddle together in camp or to take refuge in the towns. A month, however, scarcely elapsed ere the burghers of Colesberg, Cradock, Graaff-Reinet, and other places took the field, so as to stem the torrent of invasion flowing from Kafirland into the Colony. But the tide was most decisively turned on the banks of the Gwanga (a tributary of the Keiskamma), when, on the 8th of June, Colonel Somerset, with the 7th Dragoon Guards, the Cape Corps, and other troops, succeeded in surprising 600 Kafir warriors, who at first showed a bold front, but were soon

broken through and trampled down. They fled, and were hotly pursued. Still throwing assegais and fighting, they had almost reached the shelter of the bush, when Captain Hogg, with a troop of Dragoons, intercepted their flight. Then, neither able to escape nor resist, they vainly endeavoured to conceal themselves amidst scattered clumps of grass and brushwood. At this moment, a party of Fingoe levies arrived, and searched with ferocious eagerness among the tall grass and low bushes for their crouching foe, mercilessly, and in cold blood, dispatching them when discovered. A fearful scene of carnage resulted; and the fight at the Gwanga River was, to the Kafirs, one of the most disastrous battles ever fought by them against Europeans.

The Tambookies, who had hitherto been only aiders and abettors of the Gaikas, by harbouring stolen goods, now began to take an active part, and it was evident that Kreli was merely waiting a favourable opportunity of joining the league against the Colony. Under these circumstances, it was thought advisable to send a large force to the Amatolas, commanded by Colonel Johnstone and Sir Andreas Stockenstrom, whose rapid and unexpected movements filled Kreli with alarm. On the return of this expedition, they made a successful attack on the Tambookies; and their general success must have been great, as the confederate native Chiefs sent round word that "the Amatolas were broken to pieces, and Kreli's door was shut." Sandilli now solicited and obtained a truce; but merely for the purpose of gaining strength

by delay. When the Governor, at Blockdrift, demanded 20,000 cattle, 2,500 muskets, and the entire evacuation of the right bank of the Chumie as the price of peace, Macomo surrendered himself; but Sandilli continued to procrastinate in such a manner as to compel the Governor to resume hostilities, which, however, soon terminated in that crafty Chief giving himself up. Pato, and a few minor Chiefs, however, continued to hold out in the country near the Kei. Kreli having disregarded an ultimatum which was sent to him, the British troops crossed the Kei, and in a few months captured about 10,000 cattle. At this time Sir Peregrine Maitland was recalled, and the Government of the Colony conferred upon Sir Henry Pottinger,* in consequence (to use the words of Earl Grey's despatch) of "the protracted state beyond all example of the Kafir contest; the great expenditure of public money; the wide destruction of private property; interruption of peaceful pursuits; and an abiding sense of insecurity."

In March, 1847, it was decided to drive Kreli across the Kei; but as the Colonial levies had been disbanded, it was found very difficult to procure an adequate force. New thefts on the part of Sandilli were followed by an unsuccessful attempt to apprehend him, when the troops were repulsed by two thousand armed natives. After negotiations vainly protracted, Sandilli was proclaimed a rebel; war was declared; and a movement upon the

* Governor of Madras. He arranged the celebrated Chinese treaty of 1843,

Amatolas rewarded with such success that Sandilli, his brother Anta, and eighty of his people were forced to surrender. Pato and Kreli were now attacked by Colonel Somerset, who defeated 800 of their men on the Chechuba (a tributary of the Kei). On this occasion one of their braves, riding to the front, called out: "This is the day we mean to fight, and make an end of this war." A battle—which lasted twenty minutes, and resulted in their total defeat (with only the loss of two men on the British side)—was the answer. The expedition into Kreli's country, detained by the weather, was at last able to cross the Kei, and conducted operations so successfully as to intimidate Pato, as well as the Paramount Chief. As the war was lasting a very long time, and had become exceedingly expensive, the Home Government thought it desirable to appoint Sir Harry Smith (who had distinguished himself in India) to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief. The recall of Sir Henry Pottinger was accompanied by the abolition of the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern districts, held by Sir Henry Fox Young.

Sir Harry Smith arrived in Cape Town on the 1st December, 1847, and on the 17th of the same month entered Graham's Town, where he was received with great manifestations of joy. On the same day he issued a proclamation enlarging the Colony by the addition of nearly 50,000 square miles, and declaring the boundary to be the Orange River on the north, and the Keiskamma River on the east. Military villages were subsequently established in the division of

Victoria, and its chief village, Fort Hare, named Alice. On the 23rd of December, the Governor held a great meeting with Kafir Chiefs, at King William's Town, when he annexed all the country between Keiskamma and the Kei, to be constituted into a Crown dependency, under the title of British Kaffraria. On the 7th January, 1848, Sir Harry Smith met Sandilli and the Chiefs of the British Kaffrarian territory, and induced them to swear to bear true allegiance to the Queen, punish murderers, discountenance witchcraft and thieving. On the 17th of the same month Kreli arrived in King William's Town, and there finally concluded peace. Thus terminated the 1846-7 war, which it is estimated cost the British Government more than a million pounds sterling, as well as the lives of many of her most gallant soldiers.

CHAPTER XVII.

Disorganized state of the country north of the Orange River. Treaty with the Griquas. Division of Albert established. Pretorius and the Dutch farmers resist the Government. Battle of Boomplaats. Establishment of the Transvaal Republic. Representative Government. Anti-Convict agitation. Arrival of the ship *Neptune*. Withdrawal of the obnoxious Order in Council. Discontent of Sandilli. The witch-doctor Umlangeni.

IN 1848 the disorganized state of affairs in the country north of the Orange River demanded the attention of the Governor, who proceeded to this territory, amended a former treaty with the Chief of the Griquas, entered into one with Moshesh, the head of the Basutos, and proclaimed the British sovereignty over the Boers, which had been recognized by Governor Maitland in 1845. It was considered desirable to form a new division on the north-eastern border, between the Storm or White Mountains and the Orange River, on which the name of "Albert" was conferred. In May, 1849, the first colonial town on the Orange River was founded, under the title of Aliwal North.

As the Dutch emigrants from the Colony to the regions north of the Orange River had left their homes because of their dissatisfaction with British rule, they were far from willing to be considered as British subjects, and determined to resist the British Government. Under a farmer named Pretorius, they declared their independence, and

determined to defend what they considered to be their rights and privileges. On the 22nd of July, 1848, a proclamation was issued denouncing the revolt, and offering £1,000 reward for the apprehension of its leader. On the 27th of the same month the Governor crossed the Orange River, and on the 29th the battle of Boomplaats took place, when the Boers fired on the British troops from ambush, and Sir Harry Smith had a very narrow escape from the rifle of a farmer. The rebels were defeated, and Pretorius then retired to the country beyond the Vaal River, where he founded the South African Transvaal Republic.

In 1848 Sir Harry Smith proposed a scheme of Representative Government for the Colony, and both in the Western and Eastern districts this subject commanded public attention. The lighthouse on Cape L'Agulhas, the most southern point of Africa, was commenced during this year, and completed on the 1st of March following.

On the 10th of September, 1848, an Order in Council was issued by the Queen, empowering the Secretary of State to transport convicts to the Cape of Good Hope. When this became known in the Colony, great indignation was expressed by all classes, and at a meeting held in Cape Town on the 19th May, 1849, a number of resolutions were passed, in which the Home Government was reminded that early in 1842 objections had been made to receive a body of "juvenile delinquents," and the feelings of the Colonists on the subject were respected. That so recently as November of the previous year the Governor had

reported the extreme repugnance of the Colonists to "ticket-of-leave" men being sent out. Notwithstanding, the Minister had commanded the Order in Council to be enforced, on the plea of the cost of the recent war. The Colonists replied that the war was neither caused, conducted, nor in any way controlled by them, and that in its protracted miseries their share consisted in loss of time, of property, and of blood. A league was then formed, the members of which pledged their faith to each other not to employ, admit into their establishments, work, or associate with felons sent out to this country. The Governor was requested to prevent their debarkation, and suspend the publication of any Order in Council on the subject, while the petitioners promised to indemnify him against any expenses incurred. On the 4th July, 1849, a monster meeting was held on the Grand Parade in Cape Town, when 7,000 persons unanimously and vehemently protested against the introduction of convicts into the Cape Colony.

On the 19th of September the Government transport *Neptune*, with convicts on board, anchored in Simon's Bay. Political discussions with regard to the immediate introduction of representative institutions, at that time opposed by certain members of the Legislative Council, increased the public feeling against the Government. All classes were strictly forbidden by the Anti-Convict Association to supply Her Majesty's Military, Naval, and Civil servants, or the people on board the *Neptune*. A few determined men were bold enough to infringe these regulations, and scenes

of riot and destruction of property were the consequence. A number of persons having appealed to the Governor for protection, His Excellency issued a proclamation on the 12th of October, 1849, in which he stated that his repugnance to employ military force in any shape, except against the Queen's avowed enemies, was so great as to induce him only to keep himself prepared for an extremity. He announced that arrangements had been made to victual the army, navy, and even private families who had been refused supplies by their tradesmen, and that he had received a private note from the Colonial Minister stating that the design of making the Cape a penal settlement had been abandoned, and that in a short time the *Neptune*, with her passengers, would be ordered away. This announcement did not allay the tumult, and on the 16th of October the state of excitement and disturbance was so great that the Government was obliged to prohibit the assemblage of mobs, crowds, or meetings in Cape Town. At the same time, the Governor addressed the soldiers on "their forbearance, under a diabolical attempt to starve them, their wives and children, as well as the Naval service." Fortunately, it was not found necessary to use force against the people, whose agitation was crowned by a complete triumph. On the 13th February, 1850, orders were received from England revoking the obnoxious decree in Council, and on the 20th of the same month the *Neptune* left Simon's Bay, after having been detained five months. Six days previously the Anti-Convict Association had been dissolved, on which occasion

the members congratulated themselves on their self-control, and announced that the usual connection and intercourse with Government departments would at once be resumed.

Sandilli, Paramount Chief of the Gaikas, saw his power becoming less, and that his name and prestige were fast declining. He determined to make another attempt to re-establish his authority, and so early as May, 1850, had suborned a witch-doctor, Umlangeni, whom he caused to predict that, in case of a conflict, the Kafirs would be victorious, and that the white population and their coloured adherents would be put to death. The proceedings of this impostor were not noticed by the Kaffrarian authorities until the month of August, 1850, when they interfered ; but without avail, as large nocturnal meetings continued to be held, and Umlangeni soon acquired an extraordinary influence, based upon the belief that he possessed supernatural power.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Governor proceeds to the frontier. Kafir war of 1850-2. Sir Harry Smith recalled. Sir George Cathcart, Governor. Continuation of war. Expedition against Moshesh. Battle of Berea. Peace concluded. Losses occasioned by the war. Cathcart system of grants of land.

RUMOURS of disturbances on the frontier caused Sir Harry Smith to proceed thither and hold a great Council at King William's Town, on the 26th October, 1850, when all the influential heads of the Gaikas and T'Slambie tribes were present, except Sandilli and Seyolo. As Sandilli subsequently refused to appear, he was deposed from his rank. The Governor left Kaffraria on the 8th November, convinced that the country was in a perfect state of tranquillity, but on the 5th December of the same year was compelled to say, "The quiet I have reported in Kafirland, which I had so much and so just ground to anticipate, is not realized, and I start this evening." In all directions the Kafirs were slaughtering their cattle and making preparations for war. Upwards of 1,400 men of the 6th, 73rd, and 9th Regiments, and Cape Mounted Rifles, were stationed at the Amatolas, Kabousie Neck, and Fort Hare. On the 20th of December, Sandilli was outlawed by proclamation, and shortly afterwards 600 men, under Colonel Mackinnon, were sent to apprehend him. This force was met in the Booma Pass (Keiskamma Valley) by a large ambushed force, who poured a deadly fire

upon our troops. Another sanguinary engagement took place the following day, and no fewer than forty soldiers were killed in these two actions. A sergeant and fourteen men were overpowered and slain when escorting a wagon on the Debe Flats; and the third Kafir war since the British settlers had arrived was now earnestly commenced.

On Christmas Day, 1850, the military villages of Johannesburg, Woburn, and Auckland were pillaged and burnt, and their inhabitants cruelly butchered. In Auckland, the settlers were assembled in the streets, listening to instructions brought by three men of the Cape Corps, when the cattle were being brought home by the Kafirs, who assembled in large numbers and sat down round the white men. A whistle was the signal for a sudden onslaught, when several Europeans without arms were killed. The remainder fled to a dismantled clay building, where they remained during the night with the women and children. But defence was hopeless against such numbers, and twenty-eight men were butchered in the presence of their wives and children, who were with difficulty allowed to escape, half stripped of their clothes, and distracted with the fearful spectacle of which they had just been witnesses. At Woburn, sixteen men were killed, while fortunately at Johannesburg the people had timely notice, and, with the exception of three men, were able to escape to Alice. A soldier then serving in the field says: "I have been speaking to one of the women that escaped. She told me that it was customary for the Kafirs to visit at

Christmas, and as usual they came ; so the villagers gave them a dinner. She had as guests a petty chief and five or six others. They all seemed to enjoy themselves and appeared perfectly satisfied, when at a given signal they all rushed on and murdered the people."

The Governor, Sir Harry Smith, was unfortunately shut up in Fort Cox, and, after one or two unsuccessful attempts, gallantly rode to King William's Town, at the head of 250 riflemen, at the imminent risk of being surrounded and captured. New disasters took place. The coloured police (365 in number) deserted to the enemy. The Gonnah Kafir, Hermanus, began to exercise control over the Kat River Hottentots, and the tide of invasion, now swollen by partial success, poured a flood of destruction upon the eastern part of the Colony. A panic ensued. Hundreds fled into the principal towns. Old men, women, and children were seen hurrying to places of safety ; and before the end of a month Kafir bands had penetrated to a distance of 150 miles within the Colonial boundary. The influence of Hermanus upon the Kat River Hottentots began to bear fruit in a desperate attempt made by them to surprise the strong military post of Fort Beaufort. A sharp struggle was concluded by the death of their leader and the loss of fifty of their men. The missionaries were ruthlessly driven out of the Kat River Settlement : one of the pastors (Rev. Bonatz) was forced to say : " I find my labour lost (19 years) ; not above four Kafirs and three Fingoes go with me."

The Hottentots also rose at Shiloh and Theopolis. Engagements took place as far north as the division of Albert, where the Colonial party was obliged to retire with loss; and the noble defence of Whittlesea, which sustained no fewer than twelve assaults, reflected great credit on its gallant defenders, commanded by Captain Tylden and Mr. T. H. Bowker. On the Imvani 4,000 Kafirs were repulsed, and a large number of cattle captured, and attacks took place on Forts Hare, Brown, and Armstrong, the last-mentioned of which was taken by the Kafirs, who were, however, soon driven out by Major-General Somerset.

This war was the most serious that has happened in the Colony. The existence of the settlement was at one time seriously jeopardized, but the tide fortunately turned. Burghers (West and East) were called out, Fingo corps and special contingents enrolled, so that on the 1st of May, 1851, the Colonial forces numbered 9,500 men. The Kafirs overran the Somerset, Lower Albany, and Olifants Hoek districts, and it was found necessary to detach a portion of the Amatola forces for the defence of the more inland divisions. Serious and numerous encounters subsequently took place at the Great Fish River Bush and in British Kaffraria; and a vigorous attempt was made to clear the country between the Koonap and the Kei, including the defiles of the Blinkwater, Fuller's Hoek, and Waterkloof, forming the western approaches to the Amatola mountains. A force comprising 1,200 men charged through these with serious loss, which was thought to have been to some extent

compensated for by the clearance of the Waterkloof, where the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, another officer, and ten men were killed. General Somerset, with 2,000 men was dispatched to the Imvani, and 1,000 men under Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre to the Lower Kei, in order to carry on operations against Kreli. The first returned after twenty days' absence, with 20,000 head of cattle, and the latter defeated the Kafirs in a sharp engagement, during which the enemy entrenched themselves behind breastworks. Colonel Eyre afterwards released a number of Europeans, and no fewer than 7,000 Fingoes, who possessed 30,000 head of horned cattle. But a very sad reverse occurred at the Waterkloof, where 500 of our troops were attacked by 3,000 Kafirs, and after a fearful combat, lasting three hours, were forced to retire. In a few days afterwards a terrible onslaught was made on the Kafirs in the same place, Macomo's stronghold broken up, and a number of his people killed.

A great calamity occurred on the 26th February, 1852, when the steamer *Birkenhead* was wrecked near Danger Point, whilst carrying military detachments to the frontier. Lieutenant-Colonel Seton, of the 74th Highlanders, who had succeeded Colonel Fordyce, was in command. When the *Birkenhead* struck, about 2 a.m., the shock was so great that the lower iron plates gave way, and the cabin was quickly filled with water. Death was imminent, and the decks were crowded with the terrified passengers. The soldiers, drawn up by Colonel Seton, maintained the most

exemplary discipline. Only two boats could be used, and the women, children, and sick were soon all saved. The vessel parted amidships before the others could leave, and went down with the greater part of the officers and soldiers. Three hundred and fifty-seven military men and sixty seamen perished.

In a despatch dated 14th January, 1852, Earl Grey expressed the dissatisfaction of the Home Government at the progress of the war, and stated that it was his painful duty to put the conduct of the war in other hands. Sir Harry Smith was succeeded by Sir George Cathcart, whose administration dates from 1st March, 1852, to 5th December, 1854. Mr. C. H. Darling was sent out as Lieutenant-Governor. The instructions to the new Governor commanded him at the earliest possible period to complete the subjugation of the Kafirs, and stated that, beyond the very limited extent of territory required for the security of the Cape of Good Hope as a naval station, the British Crown and nation had no interest whatever in maintaining any territorial dominions in South Africa.

Sir Geo. Cathcart took the field on the 9th of April, 1852, and for some time warfare was carried on in the usual desultory manner. A decisive blow, however, was soon struck in the Waterkloof, whence the Kafirs were dislodged, and a permanent fort built on the site of the place where Colonel Fordyce was killed. On the 10th of August the Governor crossed the Kei into Kreli's country with columns of troops, burghers, and levies. At the end of these operations, Lieutenant-Colonel Napier received the thanks of the Comman-

der-in-Chief, while the burghers were praised for their meritorious service, and permitted to return to their homes. Previously the camp of the rebel Hottentot leader, Uithalder (who had designed to establish an independent Hottentot nation), had been broken up, and many of his people took advantage of an amnesty proclamation. As there was no doubt that the Basuto Chief Moshesh had been an ally of Kreli's, a force of 2,000 troops was sent across the Orange River to chastise him ; but the battle of Berea, which ensued, resulted in a victory to the Basutos, which their leader had the good sense to improve by evincing extraordinary humility, and entering into a treaty of peace. Passive resistance on the part of the natives now succeeded their former ferocity and daring. In 1853, the last and greatest Kafir war came to a close. It cost the Home Government nearly two millions, and was marked by murders, pillage, and losses hitherto unexampled. Under what was styled the Cathcart System, a number of farmers received grants of border land in return for military service, and this formed one of the best bulwarks against future Kafir invasion.

CHAPTER XIX.

Orders in Council approving Constitution Ordinance received. Principal provisions of the new Constitution. The first Parliament. Contest for the office of Speaker. Legislation. Copper-mining in Namaqualand. Numerous companies formed. Exports of copper from the Colony. Sir George Cathcart leaves. Arrival of Governor Sir George Grey. Abandonment of the Sovereignty. Orange Free State established. Sir G. Grey's policy. Measures taken to prevent a Kafir war.

ON the 21st of April, 1853, the steamer *Lady Jocelyn* arrived in Table Bay, bringing Orders in Council approving the revised Ordinances for constituting a Parliament for the Colony. The political franchise granted is of the most liberal kind. Every British-born or naturalized subject of Her Majesty above twenty-one years of age, who has occupied landed property for twelve months of the yearly value of £25, or who receives salary or wages at the rate of not less than £50 per annum, or with board and lodging at the rate of not less than £25 per annum, has the right to be registered as a voter. There are two Houses of Parliament, viz., the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly. The former, for which a property qualification is necessary, now consists of twenty-one members, styled Honourable, eleven of whom are elected by the Western districts and ten by the Eastern districts. This House has the Chief Justice of the Colony as its President. The Usher of the Black

Rod bears the symbol of authority. In the House of Assembly there are sixty-six members, thirty-four of whom are elected in the Western Province and thirty-two in the Eastern Province. This House is presided over by the Speaker, whose ensign of authority is the mace, borne by the Sergeant-at-Arms. The Parliament is to meet at least once in every year, so that a period of twelve months shall not intervene between the last sitting in one session and the first sitting in the next. The Honourable the Colonial Secretary, as well as the Attorney-General, Treasurer, and Auditor, may sit and take part in any debate in either House, subject, however, to the rules of the House, and without the right to vote.

No Bill reserved for Her Majesty's assent is to be of any force in the Colony until the Governor has signified the Queen's assent to it. The members of the Council are elected for ten years from the day that the proclamation of their election is published in the *Government Gazette*; but there is to be an election of eleven members, and of ten members alternately, at the end of five years; those who had received the smallest number of votes being required to retire. The members of the House of Assembly are elected for five years. By Act No. 3 of 1865, incorporating British Kaffraria with the Colony, the number of members of Parliament was increased, so as to provide for the requirements of the annexed territory, as well as give representatives to certain divisions not provided for in the Constitution Ordinance.

The first Parliament met on the 1st July, 1854, and was opened by Lieutenant-Governor Darling, with all the pomp fitting such an important occasion. For the office of Speaker of the House of Assembly a keen contest took place between Mr. John Fairbairn, editor of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, and Mr. Christoffel Brand (now Sir Christoffel Brand), when the latter gentleman was elected. Seven Acts of Parliament were passed during this session, the most important of which were those securing freedom of speech in debate and providing for trial by jury in civil cases.

In the year 1854, attention was directed to the subject of copper-mining in Namaqualand, and at last the mania for speculation became so great that there were thirty companies afloat, with a nominal capital of £1,393,000. As might have been expected, a collapse ensued, and many were ruined. The mineral treasures of Namaqualand were found, however, to be very extensive, and the average annual yield of copper from 1858 to 1867 was 4,000 tons, valued at upwards of £98,000.

One of the chief measures which had been concerted by Sir George Cathcart to provide for border defence, was the establishment of military grantees in the new division of Queen's Town. These assembled together for the first time to the number of 500, in accordance with the terms of their grant, on the Queen's Birthday, 1854. Two days afterwards (on the 26th May, 1854), Sir George Cathcart left the Colony for the Crimean war, where he found a

soldier's grave on the field of Inkerman. It was during 1854, and under the direction of Sir George Clerk, that arrangements were carried out whereby the extensive and fertile country north of the Orange River, known as the Sovereignty, was dissevered from Her Majesty's possessions in South Africa. Its inhabitants formed this territory into the Orange Free State, ruled by a President and a Volksraad or Parliament.

Sir George Grey administered the Government from 5th December, 1854, to 15th August, 1861. In his speech at the opening of Parliament, he explained his Kafir policy. "I propose," said he, "that we should dismiss from our minds the idea of attempting to establish or maintain a system of frontier policy, based upon the idea of retaining a vacant tract of country intervening between ourselves and a barbarous race beyond it, who are to be left in their existing state without any systematic efforts being made to reclaim and civilize them. The necessary results of such a policy appear to me to be that such a people as the Kafirs, so abandoned to themselves, will break in upon us whenever it suits their caprice or convenience, whilst the vacant territory would afford a convenient place for them to harbour in until they ascertained upon what point of our frontier they could most readily and properly direct their blows, and ultimately an easy and unoccupied line of escape for them into their own country, with the booty which they might have secured." This speech foreshadowed the

Governor's Native policy. The Home Government was asked for one thousand enrolled pensioners—subsequently to be increased to five thousand—to be located in British Kaffraria and at the several military posts. The Colonial Parliament, as recommended, approved of the increase and better organization of the Frontier Armed Mounted Police Force, which, under the management of Sir Walter Currie, proved extremely useful in checking the predatory incursions and thefts of the natives. As the Secretary of State for the Colonies could not induce military pensioners to come out to Kaffraria under the system proposed by Sir George Grey, the men and officers of the Anglo-German Legion, released from active service at the termination of the Crimean war, were subsequently sent. Supplies to meet the necessary expenses of their location were cheerfully granted by the Colonial Parliament, and thanks were returned to Her Majesty's Government for the consideration which had been shown in this matter. Kafirs were successfully employed as labourers on public works. In a report of the 12th December, 1855, it was shown that more than 900 natives had been working on Government buildings, watercourses, and roads. In order to counteract and destroy the pernicious influence of witch-doctors, a hospital was established at King William's Town, under the superintendence of Doctor Fitzgerald. In one quarter of the year 1856 no fewer than 2,278 coloured patients resorted to him for relief, of whom 1579 were Kafirs. Money allowances were made to

chiefs, on condition of good behaviour, and a strict system of watchfulness established. Industrial schools were opened, and Sir George Grey succeeded in obtaining a grant of £40,000 per annum for several years from the Home Government, to enable him to carry out his schemes in Kaffraria for preventing the outbreak of war.

CHAPTER XX.

Divisional Councils Act. Apprehensions of a Kafir war. Kreli employs a witch-doctor to incite Kafirs to war. Results. Public works. Railway. Breakwater. Telegraph. Statistics of trade. Population. Value of property. Roman-Dutch law. Withdrawal of Sir G. Grey. He returns. His policy.

THE Divisional Councils Act was passed in 1855, providing for elective bodies, in some respects similar to the Courts of Heemraden abolished in 1828. The powers of these Councils were considerably extended by subsequent legislation, so as to include the control of main as well as of divisional roads. In the same session, Acts providing for immigration from Europe and for the better organization of the Frontier Police were passed.

Although there was no resumption of hostilities on the part of the Kafirs subsequent to the termination of the 1851-2 war, still there was every disposition on their part to attack the Colony. In January, 1856, this had become so apparent, that the Lieutenant-General on the frontier urged the necessity of large reinforcements. Kreli, with the British Kafirian chiefs, and the rebel Hottentots of 1850, who had crossed the Kei, were meditating an attack, and the Governor was obliged to send to Mauritius for a regiment. The arrival of the British-German Legion, disbanded at the end of the Crimean war, was hailed with great satisfaction. Kreli, in order to originate

a great national war, in which all the Kafirs would take part, set up an impostor named Umlakazi, who, in his capacity of witch-doctor, gave out that he had intercourse by visions with the spirits of their former chiefs, and that it was revealed to him that their ancestors had been fighting the British over the water (in the Crimea); that the Colonists would receive no aid from England; and that to propitiate the deceased chiefs, and cause them now to appear and fight on their side, it was only necessary to abstain from tilling the ground, and to destroy their stores of grain, and all their cattle. The object of Kreli was to create a war in which starving and desperate men would attack and plunder the scattered farmers on the frontier. The slaughter of cattle went on, and the Governor quietly continued to perfect his preparations. At last, the 18th of February, 1857, was fixed by Umlakazi as the day when the ancestors of the Kafirs would rise from the dead, and Europeans be driven into the sea. In spite of this absurd prophecy, and its non-fulfilment, the credulous Kafirs still believed in the impostor, and continued to obey his commands. The Governor arrived at King William's Town on the 22nd February, and found that robberies were frequent on the high roads, and that a private of the 98th Regiment had been barbarously murdered, while immense crowds of destitute people were about to attack those Kafirs who had preserved their cattle and continued to cultivate their gardens. Arrangements were made to defend the main roads, and to give employment on public works. The dispirited and

half-starved multitudes found that a war would be madness. The population of British Kaffraria, which had been 104,000, dwindled down to 38,000. It is conjectured that about 30,000 took refuge in the Cape Colony, and some joined Moshesh; but the number who died of starvation, in spite of all efforts that could be made, was most appalling. This national suicide effectually dispelled all apprehensions of war.

The administration of Sir George Grey was distinguished by the inauguration of several public works, the chief of which were the Cape Town Railway and the Table Bay Breakwater. By an Act of 1857, the Colonial Parliament guaranteed a minimum rate of interest of six per cent. on a sum not exceeding £500,000 for fifty years, for the construction of a railway from Cape Town to Wellington. The first sod was turned by the Governor on 31st March, 1859, and the line completed to Wellington in November, 1863. A railway to Wynberg was afterwards constructed by private enterprise, and is the property of a joint-stock company, established in 1861. An Act of Parliament passed in 1860 authorized the sum of £200,000 to be borrowed on the security of the public revenue, for the construction of a breakwater in Table Bay, and on the 17th of September of the same year the first truck-full of stones was tipped into the sea by His Royal Highness Prince Alfred. In 1861 the simultaneous construction of a dock and breakwater was authorized. The foundation of a graving dock was laid by H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh on the 25th of August, 1867. The first line

of electric telegraph between Cape Town and Simon's Town was opened in 1860, and a line between Cape Town and Graham's Town was finally completed on 8th January, 1864. As regards steam communication with England, the Colony was for some time placed at a disadvantage, but has ultimately succeeded in obtaining regular half-monthly ocean steamers.

The advance in the trade of the country has been very marked. Between the years 1830 and 1835 the value of wool exported amounted only to £10,840, while in one year (1868) it had risen to £1,855,000. Unfortunately, in consequence of the unfavourable Customs tariff in England and disease in the grape, the export of colonial wine has decreased, and the chief market for its sale—as well as for the sale of colonial brandy—is found in the Colony and adjacent States. In 1830, the revenue of the Cape Colony amounted to £134,000, and the expenditure to £121,000; while in 1868 the revenue had increased to £565,000, and the expenditure to £656,000. According to the census of the Cape Colony taken in 1865 (with the addition of British Kaffraria, annexed by Act No. 3 of 1865), the total number of inhabitants was 566,000, of whom 187,000 were white and 379,000 coloured. The wealth of the Cape of Good Hope has been estimated (in 1868) as follows:

In fixed property	£17,500,000
„ stock	17,000,000
„ produce	3,000,000
	<hr/>
	£37,500,000

It will be perceived that the “stock” bears a very

large proportion to the whole, showing that the Cape Colony is essentially a pastoral and grazing country. Woolled sheep have been very considerably improved by frequent importations, and within the last ten years washing machinery has been successfully introduced, and the process of cleansing fleeces previous to exportation forms an extensive and profitable industry. Lung-sickness among cattle and the destructive ravages of locusts in the north-east have periodically been the means of causing very great loss to the Colony.

The Roman-Dutch law in force at the Cape of Good Hope has now been considerably modified by Colonial statute law. An Eastern Districts Court, consisting of two judges, in Graham's Town, forms a Court of co-ordinate jurisdiction with the Supreme Court in Cape Town, and the judges of both go on circuit in the Eastern and Western districts respectively. The powers of magistrates in the various districts of the Colony have been considerably enlarged, and the number of these officers increased by the Colonial Parliament.

After administering the Government five years, Sir George Grey was recalled by the Home Government in consequence of his views with regard to the federation of South African States. Numerous petitions in favour of the Governor were sent to England; and His Excellency being shortly afterwards reinstated, returned to the Colony on the 4th July, 1860. Prince Alfred visited the Colony in the same year, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm. On the 14th August, 1861, Sir George Grey, in proroguing the Colonial Parliament,

remarked that, "To limit the bounds of the British Europeans to the exact portions they now occupy, if these bounds are for ever to be assailed by barbarians, are to be for ever defended by numerous and costly troops, to be for ever inhabited by a poor race of settlers, constantly pillaged, unable to accumulate capital, and afraid to invest it in improvements, is to give no advantage to the British possessions, or the races in contact. Every effort has been made to build up a system of mutual advantages, to consolidate great and prosperous communities, wealthy and strong enough to maintain themselves, and prepared to carry, at no cost to the British Government, the blessings of law and order, and of the Christian faith." On the following day Sir George Grey left Cape Town for the Government of New Zealand, to which he had been appointed.

Under the administration of this able Governor, war was averted, and such relations entered into with the Natives as to guard against its recurrence. Among the numerous public works undertaken, were the buildings in Cape Town for the Public Library and Museum. To the former of these institutions Sir George Grey subsequently gave a magnificent and unique collection of books and manuscripts.


This history terminates with George Grey's Government. Since that period, the Colony has passed through a season of depression. Prosperity is again returning, and the riches of the newly-discovered Diamond-fields of South Africa are already beginning to exercise a most favourable effect.

CONCLUSION.

THE foregoing narrative has followed at some length the eventful intercourse of the frontier colonists with the Kafir tribes, the struggles of a restless savage race, and the persistent and successful efforts of the colonists to hold their position amid the various systems of native policy sanctioned by the Imperial Government.

It would have been more instructive, if not equally interesting, to have told more fully the slow but solid progress of the Western Districts in all that conduces to the comfort, enlightenment, and general prosperity of the people. The coloured population, of mixed race, which forms a large portion of the labouring class in the West has enjoyed, since the emancipation of slaves, the full advantages of a liberal and comprehensive plan of mission schools; in which, directed by missionary teachers and watched over and aided by the Government, the children of the heathen and the poor have acquired the essentials of a religious and useful education, and have been trained to habits of decency and order.

Among the coloured inhabitants, there linger, of course, the distinguishing traits of indolence and self-indulgence; yet those who frequent the streets of Cape Town, and the neighbouring villages of Stellenbosch, Paarl, and Worcester, cannot fail to be struck with the quiet, good-tempered, and respectful demeanour of what are called, perhaps by euphemism," our working



classes." The solemn services of the Christian Church are regularly attended by hundreds of those whose parents were elevated from heathenism to the profession and practice of Christianity.

Nor is this work of evangelization confined to the old settled towns of the West. "He who would honestly measure the results of missionary teaching and influence must extend the horizon of his observation some thirty or forty years back. Taking a retrospect of what the Eastern districts, for instance, were at that time; of the then lonely, yet as now lovely, slopes of the Kat River heights; of the untenanted wastes that stretched over where Queen's Town now flourishes,—untenanted, save where here and there some native kraals dotted the more fertile spots, the observer will have found nothing but what characterizes the lowest types of humanity; now, the missionary proudly points to the churches and schools that have risen chiefly from the self-reliant efforts of the christianized natives; neatly dressed and well-behaved congregations of coloured races throng churchwards at the call of the Sabbath-bell, and the voices of thousands rise to God in devotional hymns, where superstition and debasing rites had encrusted the particle of inborn Truth." (Dr. Dale's Essay, "The Cape and its People.")

The diffusion and improvement of education among all classes, the extension of railways and telegraphs throughout the Colony, judicious expenditure in constructing dams for the husbanding of water in those inland districts where the rain-fall is infrequent and

uncertain, the training of the natives to the practice of trades and other industrial pursuits, the fusion of the many elements, British, Dutch, French, and German, which have contributed to make up our composite community of colonists,—these measures will hasten on the development of the resources of this large Colony. Its progress has hitherto been slow; but Nature has not been niggardly of her gifts, for the Cape Colony has within it the elements of commercial greatness, besides the oft-told charm of a genial climate.







